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8 JUNE 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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### Revocation of Awards Discussed

18001106 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
20 May 89 p 5

[Interview with Head of the Department of Awards of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat L.I. Shvetsova, by SELSKAYA ZHIZN Correspondent V. Shcherban: "Revoke the Title of Hero..."]

[Text] Decrees on awards are published in the newspapers every week, awards for those who have earned a distinction in labor or military service. Reports on the receipt of decorations have rightfully claimed front-page space. However, behind this joyous, gala, lofty aspect, there is another one, bitter and frightening. There are decrees on the revocation of decorations... They are not advertised. They conceal the pain, disgrace, and shame of the state. They are the last stroke in debunking the idols of recent past, a harsh but just argument in the cause of restoring justice. This is the topic for the interview with Head of the Department of Awards of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat L.I. Shvetsova by our correspondent.

[Shcherban] I think that many of our readers did not even think that something like this was possible. After all, this was not publicized before. Tell us what the transgressions are for which a person parts with his orders and medals.

[Shvetsova] The general statute on orders and medals provides for this extreme measure as well. It applies in the event the recipient of the award is convicted of a grave crime, as well as in the event he commits a deed dishonoring him.

[Shcherban] Recently, a new die for striking the Star of the Hero of Socialist Labor was manufactured at the Moscow Mint. The old one was worn out due to frequent use. This is a coincidence, of course, but this happened at a time when many things are changing in the procedures for awards as well. At present, it is common knowledge that orders and medals were also given to those who did not deserve them, and that the practice of mass awards existed.

[Shvetsova] Indeed, very recently decrees on awards came, as they would say, in droves. The epidemic of mass receipts of orders created an illusion of well-being. In the 20 years preceding perestroyka, 65 (!) percent of all awards used in all the years of Soviet power were issued to mark labor accomplishments. Solemn award ceremonies against the background of stagnation phenomena in the economy and the social sphere caused justified outrage among the people. However, it is not only the amount of those distinguished that was at issue. Awards for something general and fuzzy, say, for the results of a 5-year plan, or on the occasion of an anniversary, rather than for specific work became the rule... To be sure, there were many deserving people among those given awards. However, those who became laureates due to padding and eyewash were also among

those distinguished by lofty awards of the Motherland. The orders and Stars of Heroes served as a reliable defense against criticism and inspections for these people. No matter how shameful the act of revoking the orders and medals of the undeserving and compromised people is, it is necessary in order to restore justice and increase the prestige of state decorations. Grave errors and miscalculations are already being corrected. In August 1988, a resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was published which set forth new procedures for using awards, and stated the abandonment of awarding orders to citizens, as well as cities, oblasts, and republics, in conjunction with their anniversaries, and of awarding repeatedly the title of the Hero of Socialist Labor and Hero of the Soviet Union. Finally, there are not going to be mass awards anymore, including those based on the results of 5-year plans.

[Shcherban] How many persons have had their awards revoked in recent years?

[Shvetsova] Here are the statistics: in 1985—329 persons, in 1986 and 1987—370 persons a year, and in 1988—250. I believe that there are many more people than that in our country who have dishonored themselves, and no longer deserve to wear state decorations. The problem is that labor collectives, party and state organs, and the courts do not always raise the issue of revoking the decorations of bribe-takers, embezzlers, and degenerates—of all whom they hold accountable. After all, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet makes decisions based primarily on their petitions.

[Shcherban] Who is the last in the "black list" of those deprived of the Stars of Hero?

[Shvetsova] Former Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] B. Rakhimov. His three Orders of Lenin, Order of the October Revolution, two Orders of the Red Banner of Labor, order "Mark of Honor," and Gold Medal "Sickle and Hammer" have been revoked. The resolution says: "Rakhimov has treated managing the Agroprom of the republic irresponsibly, shut his eyes to the making of arbitrary decisions which hampered the development of agricultural sectors, and favored the extensive proliferation of theft, bribery, eyewash, and padding."

N. Khamrayev, former chief of Glavsredazirsovkhozstroy [Main Central Asian Directorate for Irrigation Construction on State Farms], is also on the sad list. He "has gravely violated the principles of socialist economic management, and propagated the erroneous practice of non-comprehensive land development..." Khamrayev has been deprived of the title of Hero, three Orders of Lenin, Order of the October Revolution, Red Banner of Labor, Gold Medal "Sickle and Hammer..."

M.V. Gulevich, whom Kemerovo Rayon Court sentenced to 4 years of deprivation of freedom for premeditated murder, has been deprived of the title of Hero and six orders and medals.

The same fate befell brigade leader of cotton-growing brigade No 4 of Yavanskiy Rayon of Tadjik SSR Khuk-middin Fozilov—"for the theft of state funds in the amount of 11,040 rubles." Fozilov approached us with a request not to revoke his title of Hero, arguing that he was innocent, and that laws have been violated in the course of the preliminary investigation. Nonetheless, he had to surrender the star.

[Shcherban] Who will share their unenviable fate of discrowned heroes soon?

[Shvetsova] Several more cases are being studied. It is too early to talk about any specific one. Ultimately, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet will decide. Such matters are discussed in a special commission with the participation of representatives of the Supreme Court, Ministry of Justice, Prosecutor's Office, the KGB, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the Ministry of Defense. This commission is the one to submit recommendations for the decisions. I think that in the future people's deputies will get involved in this work.

[Shcherban] Is the opinion of the commission always unanimous?

[Shvetsova] As a rule, decisions are made following a detailed discussion. Sometimes, it is determined that the revocation of awards is not expedient. In the past 4 years, the commission has failed to endorse 10 petitions.

[Shcherban] When I asked about the candidates for the revocation of high titles and awards, I was expecting you to name first of all former First Secretary of the Krasnodar Kray [CPSU] Committee Medunov and Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Churbanov.

[Shvetsova] As far as Medunov is concerned... As is known, recently he has been expelled from the party. It is absolutely obvious that this man should have been deprived of many of the awards he received in the years of his infamous reign, if not all of them. The awards include the Star of the Hero of Socialist Labor, three Orders of Lenin... We receive letters in which people demand that the case be taken to its logical end. However, letters from toilers are merely a signal. Only the organ which has issued the award, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, may revoke the award proceeding from official petitions. The issue will be considered when the latter come in.

In the case of Churbanov, the court has not referred this issue to us yet. The decision made will be announced publicly.

[Shcherban] Luydmila Ivanovna, despite the existence of a new statute on using awards, which, as I understand, has become law, resolutions [on awards] in conjunction with milestone anniversaries continue to appear. To be sure, they no longer refer to "the n-th anniversary," but their essence is the same—anniversary-related.

[Shvetsova] Unfortunately, the previous practice of referrals [for awards] has so much become a part of the consciousness of people that changing it overnight is difficult, even by using the most resolute decree. Yes, even now we constantly receive petitions on behalf of people celebrating an anniversary. However, every such petition is endorsed by councils of labor collectives. We verify the endorsements, and they are not fictitious. Therefore, not only the administration, but the labor collectives themselves take the old position in this matter. I am convinced that no favorable changes will occur until the people themselves grasp their role in resolving such issues. At present, much depends on us, on those who have been assigned to control the fulfillment of decisions already made. The appearance of indirect rather than direct participants in events on the lists of persons receiving awards cannot be tolerated. We should put an end to the "award itch" which causes the efforts by some zealous administrators to invent new forms of mass award-giving. Say, recently the results of the All-Union Socialist Competition were announced. Immediately thereafter, calls came in to the department: "What if the winning city will nominate several persons from every enterprise for orders and medals?" Once again, there is this craving for allocation schedules, and the inability to understand that victory in the competition is a collective reward, prestigious and honorable.

[Shcherban] Many of those who were later deprived of their stars, orders, and medals received them during the years of stagnation. How was the flywheel of mass awards set in motion then?

[Shvetsova] The first mass award was held in 1966 based on the performance during one year. This went on until 1978. This form of awards was replaced by an even more massive one—based on the performance during a 5-year plan, which has brought about the absolutely absurd growth of the number of people decorated with orders and medals. This practice has now been discontinued. Deserving toilers can and should be recognized by the state, but only on the basis of real successes, of contributions to the development of the economy, science, or culture, but not through customary campaigns. Only the opinion of fellow workers, of the councils of labor collectives may provide cause for raising the issue of an award, rather than the infamous distribution lists.

What is the situation at present? It is too early to talk about a fundamental turnaround. However, there are changes for the better. This is confirmed by statistics. In 1986, 15,167 persons were decorated for their work performance, in 1987—9,770, in 1988—16,439. In the first quarter of 1989, 1,504 persons were decorated.

[Shcherban] Have there been mistakes in the course of deprivation of awards? Say, first they were taken away from a person, and later they were returned.

[Shvetsova] Such things have happened too, as a rule, after the revocation of a court ruling which was the basis for the deprivation. Recently, the presidium has been restoring many awards to persons rehabilitated during the years of Stalin's repressive measures. Unfortunately, this is done mostly on the request of children and grandchildren, posthumously... Now we are completing the examination of 12 such cases. They involve tragic biographies of people, the desire of relatives and friends to bring back the good name of those who have suffered for no fault.

[Shcherban] How does the confiscation of awards happen? I have heard that some people committed suicide on the eve of this distressing procedure. I mean former Minister of Internal Affairs Shchelokov...

[Shvetsova] Certainly, the revocation of orders and stars is an unparalleled moral blow. As far as I know, on that day they called the general from our department, and told him that they would come to pick up his awards. They called us back from the Shchelokov residence: there is no need to come. He is no longer with us... This is a fact, but I do not know whether the confiscation of awards was the reason for this.

In general, everything happens outwardly in peace. There is a resolution of the presidium, the person in question knows about it. Finally, there is the right to impose a fine of 100 rubles for failure to comply with the accepted procedures... The awards are confiscated by the militia in the course of making an arrest. All awards are sent to the State Fund.

So much for the confiscated awards. They also send us very many orders and medals found, including those belonging to the soldiers who died, but were not buried during the war. We search for the owners and their relatives together with museum employees and local historians. We frequently find them...

[Shcherban] In the Guinness Book of Records, L.I. Brezhnev is mentioned in the section "Decorations" as a record-holder in the number of decorations. How many of them did he have all told?

[Shvetsova] In the number of Gold Stars... He had four medals of the Hero of the Soviet Union and the "Sickle and Hammer" medal of the Hero of Socialist Labor. Altogether, he had 110 decorations, 46 Soviet and 64 foreign, excluding his marshal's badge, ceremonial arms, diplomas, badges of honorary titles, and of the "honorary citizen" of cities. This was surrendered by his widow, and is in storage.

[Shcherban] Has the revocation of decorations been always practiced?

[Shvetsova] In general, this measure has been used since the first years of Soviet power. This practice also existed in tsarist Russia. In the mid-1930's, the confiscation of decorations became a political weapon, a propaganda act which greatly influenced the people around it. After all, in those years the man on whose breast a combat or labor-merit order shone enjoyed a special status. If the decoration was taken away, the opinion asserted itself in the mass consciousness that the person in question is indeed an enemy of the people.

At present, it is a different story altogether. Revocations of the decorations of degenerates assert social justice, correct the mistakes made, and are a factor of moral purification of society. Revocations are not an end unto itself, not a campaign. However, this process is necessary in order to make changes in our life which were initiated by perestroyka, in order to bring closer the time when we will no longer face the necessity of doing so. This depends on everyone: those who receive decorations, and those who make decisions on awarding decorations.

[Shcherban] Why is an overwhelming majority of cases on "revocations" initiated by the courts rather than party, soviet, and trade union organizations? Is it that they don't want to? Don't know? Show spinelessness?

[Shvetsova] This is a combination of all of the above. The right to raise the issue of deprivation is given to the courts, party, and soviet organs by the law. Their role is supposed to be the main and definitive one. Thus far, they have not perceived what an effective means of influencing the slackers and presumptuous individuals they have at their disposal. I am sure that very soon people will discuss candidates for decorations and the issues of revoking them as heatedly and with the same interest with which many things are discussed at present.

People's control bodies could also approach us in the matter of revocation. One in ten bribe-takers, thieves, and embezzlers found by people's inspectors has decorations. Locally, they are harshly penalized, and expelled from the party. For some reason, their cases do not reach us. I believe that we should enter in the new draft law on people's control a provision that these bodies can raise such issues.

[Shcherban] Finally, can your department become a filter through which "inflated" heroes and recipients of orders will not pass ever, no matter what? Could it contribute to restoring the prestige of state decorations, which has been shaken considerably in recent years?

[Shvetsova] I am sure that it can and must, however, proceeding from a firm, principled position of the people's deputies, party and soviet bodies, and labor collectives. Much has changed in the department itself; the forms of work are changing. Previously, the department received prepared and already endorsed drafts of decrees; all that remained was to carry out the necessary formalities. What kind of filter was it, if on occasion

papers for 500,000 persons to be decorated were processed based on performance during the 5-year plan... I think that, given the formation of the rule-of-law state, we need the Law on USSR State Decorations. Let me note that many countries have such laws. This law could put together the norms which define the criteria for decorations based on the personal contribution to the development of the economy and social sphere, establish a more perfect system of orders and medals, clearly set forth the powers of labor collectives, soviets of people's deputies, and other state and public organizations. If a decision on preparing the law is going to be made by deputies, its draft could be widely discussed in order for the new policy on decorations to comply fully with perestroika.

### Unity of 'Soviet People' Restated

18001037 Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 6,  
6 Mar 89 pp 14-17

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. Kholmogorov, lead scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of History, under the rubric "Developing Democracy": "A Contrived Community?"]

[Text] I note with concern that lately, under the flag of democratization and glasnost, many of socialism's values have started to be subjected to doubt and, in some cases, open attacks. One of them has turned out to be the unique community of people that has been formed in our country—the Soviet people [Sovetskiy narod]. This category has come to be used rarely in the periodical press and other mass media. Moreover, nihilistic opinions and statements distorting not just the essence of this concept but the very phenomenon that it expresses have appeared in those media. Such statements have become widespread among certain writers, public-affairs essayists and social scientists. Thus, at one plenum of the Board of the USSR Writers' Union, a respected writer declared that in our country "...there are no Soviet people in general; rather, there are Soviet Russians, Soviet Uzbeks and Soviet Moldavians." At a conference of social scientists held in Leningrad in late 1987 some of its participants questioned: "Who proposed to us such a formula: 'The new historical community—the Soviet people'?" D. Ivans, a public-affairs essayist from Latvia, undertook the mission of answering that question. According to his claim, in the USSR the Soviet peoples are designated by the contrived "cosmopolitan term of L. I. Brezhnev—the Soviet people."

Before attributing clearly undeserved priority to Brezhnev in the introduction of this category into scientific usage, and distorting the category's meaning, he should have turned to history. Back on 29 March 1919 V. I. Lenin, in his "Message to the Red Army," used the term "Soviet people" [Sovetskiye lyudi], meaning by it the principal part of Soviet Russia's multinational population that had risen to defend the gains of Great October. In subsequent years the expression "Soviet people" [Sovetskiy narod] came to be used in party documents.

In the Charter of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) that was approved at the 18th Party Congress, this concept was used to characterize the party's social-class makeup. The category "Soviet people—a new historical community of people" was introduced into scientific usage for the first time in N. S. Khrushchev's report at the 22nd CPSU Congress: "A new historical community of people of different nationalities and having common characteristic features—the Soviet people—has developed in the USSR. They have a common socialist homeland—the USSR, a common economic base—the socialist economy, a common social-class structure, a common world view—Marxism-Leninism, a common goal—the building of communism, and many common features of both their spiritual makeup and their psychology." Afterwards this category came to be used in the documents of all subsequent party congresses, including the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th Party Conference.

The history of the formation of the Soviet people is complex and contradictory. In order to understand it, one can use Lenin's concept of the contradictory nature of the development of social phenomena as "spasmodic, catastrophic, revolutionary development, followed by 'intervals of gradualness'; the turning of quantity into quality, followed by internal impulses toward development provided by the contradiction and clash among various forces and tendencies operating...within the given society..." (V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 26, p 55). The history of the formation of the Soviet people is not a simple linear progress along an ascending line, without any sort of zigzags, as was claimed in the official concept of the conflict-free development of nationality relations over recent decades in the USSR. The new community's development took place through an extremely complex dialectical interaction among various contradictory social processes and represented a historically law-governed, constantly changing social phenomenon.

The start was made by Great October, which produced profound changes in the consciousness of the working people of multinational Russia and opened up new historical prospects for them. During the years of the Civil War the working people of various nationalities were persuaded through their own life experience of the need to concert their efforts to defend the gains of the socialist revolution, to create politico-military and economic alliances, and to establish a unified diplomatic front among the Soviet republics.

An important role was played by the national-state construction that began with the transition from politico-military alliance among the Soviet republics to their unification as a single state. The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics created the possibility for all-round cooperation among the nations and nationalities, and for the pooling of efforts to deal with the devastation and to restore and develop the country's national economy.

The birth of the new socialist society and the formation of the world's first social-class and internationalist community could not have taken place, in the words of V. I. Lenin, "without friction, difficulties and conflicts, and without coercion with respect to inveterate parasites and their stooges" (Vol 35, p 196). But following V. I. Lenin's death these difficulties and conflicts started to assume what was in many respects an artificially caused nature.

The activities of I. Stalin and his immediate entourage following the concentration of supreme political power in his hands had extremely grave consequences for the process of the formation of the Soviet people. Leninist nationalities policy was flagrantly violated in the country, and the state institutions that monitored and studied nationality processes were disbanded. Added to the repressions of 1935-1937 were the mass deportation of a substantial number of inhabitants of the Baltic republics in 1940-1941 and 1949, and the liquidation of a number of national-state formations in the Volga region and Northern Caucasus in 1944.

But neither the tragic events, the flagrant deformations of socialism, the cruelty shown toward the USSR's peoples during the years of Stalinism, nor the distortions of the principles of socialism during the time of Brezhnevism could destroy the developing moral and political unity of Soviet people, which proved its viability in joint labor, in the struggle for socialism, in the battles to defend it during the years of the Great Patriotic War, and in the postwar recovery period. Millions of Soviet people of various nationalities always believed in the ideals of the socialist revolution and socialism, and selflessly worked and struggled, not sparing their lives in the name of realizing those ideals.

These successes provided every ground for codifying in the USSR Constitution the existence in our country of the Soviet people as a new historical community. The resolution of the 19th Party Conference "On Internationality Relations" contains the laconic statement: "The new historical community—the Soviet people—has become a reality."

Thus, the emergence of the new historical community—the Soviet people—represents a kind of generalized sum of the economic and sociopolitical changes accomplished in the USSR during the years of socialist construction, the result of the CPSU's economic, social and nationalities policy.

In some cases the concept "people" [narod] is used to refer to the entire population of a country (the American, Canadian, Belgian peoples, and so forth), and in other cases it is used to refer to the nations and nationalities and national and ethnic groups that live within the borders of a single state (the Russian people, the Latvian people, the Uzbek people, and so forth).

As a developing social and internationalist community, the Soviet people was preceded by various historical

forms of communities of people: class, state, political, religious, ethnic and interethnic, national and internationality, demographic and other communities. However, the Soviet people is not simply one variety among these communities, but a fundamentally new historical community of people that has no analogy in the past.

This concept includes a content that differs from the content of the aforementioned communities. What is involved is a community that has developed in the process of socialist construction and embodies the developing social and internationalist unity of classes and social groups, nations and nationalities of the Land of Soviets. The working class, kolkhoz peasantry, people's intelligentsia, social groups, nations, nationalities and national groups that belong to this new community have become the vehicles not just of class and nationality relations, but also of economic, political, ideological, legal, everyday-life, family, and other forms of socialist social relations.

The Soviet people expresses the all-union economic and spiritual interests and, simultaneously, the national interests of all the USSR's peoples. It is the subject of the multinational socialist federal state and of a unified system of supreme bodies of state authority and agencies of state administration—of unified legislation, citizenship, territory and borders, and a unified monetary system. All power in the USSR belongs to it, and it is the bearer of that power.

A spiritual community is developing among the Soviet people: a common Soviet culture is developing, there is a functioning language of internationality communication, and common Soviet traditions of everyday life are being established. Although these processes do not always proceed smoothly.

The Soviet people, in working to overcome the incredible difficulties that have fallen its lot, has developed the traits of a new, common Soviet, socialist psychology and morality. Among the most important of these traits are collectivism and internationality cooperation.

A substantial contribution to the establishment of these traits has been made by labor collectives, which in our country are multinational and represent the primary cells of socialist society, the primary structural units of the multinational Soviet people. The new historical community is establishing a common Soviet consciousness, which expresses the attachment of Soviet people (regardless of their nationality) to that community, to the territory of the USSR and its economy, to its language of internationality communication, and to common Soviet culture, customs and way of life.

More than a hundred nations, nationalities and national groups live in their indigenous ethnic territories in our multinational socialist state. For centuries they have

developed their culture, language, traditions, psychology and first ethnic and then national consciousness. The Soviet people does not break off the development of those components and does not standardize their rich national diversity. It is a necessary condition for the further all-round development of the Soviet nations, nationalities and national groups.

The concept "the Soviet people—a new historical community" is not related to the thesis concerning the "merger of nations." In the 1960s a few scholars, without any sort of arguments, made an attempt to see in the development of the emerging Soviet people a tendency toward the formation of a "single Soviet nation." Statements to this effect were immediately subjected to sharp criticism and categorized by the scientific community as theoretically groundless and politically harmful propositions. But anticommunists made active use of them. And even now they try to use every means they can to discredit the social-class and internationalist community that is developing in the USSR. Present-day anticommunists, who have not rid themselves of former stereotypes, continue to claim that the Soviet people represents the broad-scale "integration" of Soviet nations into a "Russified nation."

Irresponsible statements concerning the "complete merger of nations" cause great damage in terms of the understanding of the internationalist essence of the Soviet people. They arouse fears for their historical fate among representatives of the relatively small Soviet nations and nationalities. Thus, fears have been expressed in Estonia's periodical press that opinions concerning the merger of nations inevitably give rise to an inclination among certain people to identify the internationality element with the Russian-speaking and Russian-national element (or with the national element of any given national majority), to replace the principle of increasing closeness with that of merger, and to reduce the significance of national cultures to archaic ethnographic exotics, and reduce the internationality essence of the Soviet people to a "new national-ethnic community." "The Soviet people," Ya. Rebane, member of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences writes quite correctly, "embodies the unification of hundreds of millions of citizens of the Soviet Union, and that concept expresses a socioeconomic and ideological-political community, but not a national and ethnic community."

The processes of the formation of the Soviet people have not been completed. Having become a reality, this community continues to develop. And it is natural that our literature pays great attention to the development of these processes and the interpretation of them. Some propositions are hard to agree with. Thus, certain authors' assertion that the new historical community "develops on the basis of the increasing closeness of various languages and nationalities, and of their cultures, specific historical features, and traditions" raises an objection. Such views limit ideas about the formation of the new community solely to the sphere of language and

culture, including only nationalities in these processes, while excluding nations from them. The processes of the further development of the Soviet people as a new community take place in every sphere of socialist society's social life.

Under the conditions of restructuring, the main line in the further formation of the social-class and internationalist community of the Soviet people is the strengthening of the core of its political community—the socialist federal state—the USSR, the expansion of the rights of its constituent Soviet republics, the delimitation of their powers, and the harmonization of their relations. Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee's November (1988) Plenum and the special 20th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which received concentrated expression in the motto "A strong union is a strong center and strong republics," were aimed at the accomplishment of this task.

Immense potential for our growth and for improving the well-being of all the country's peoples lies in concerting our efforts in our common interests. For this reason, all the republics have a vital stake in a strong center that is capable of accomplishing tasks common to the whole people, said M. S. Gorbachev at the USSR Supreme Soviet's special session. He emphasized that the strength of the union should rest on the strength of the republics that belong to it as sovereign socialist states, and on their independence, initiative, and active participation in common affairs. That is because the success of each republic is an extremely important prerequisite for the success of our entire federal state. At the USSR Supreme Soviet's special session, the executives of the union republics also stressed the vital necessity of strengthening the USSR and the internationalist community of the USSR's peoples in every way possible.

Denying or ignoring the Soviet people as a real unity of the USSR's peoples does not accord with the strategy of restructuring in the area of nationality relations. Those who have a stake in this are people who act from nationalistic positions, provoke internationality discord, and attempt to undermine the holy of holies—the friendship among the USSR's peoples.

Nationalistic elements in the republics of the Soviet Baltic region do not hesitate to apply to Soviet people who do not belong to those republics' indigenous nationalities but permanently reside in them labels that are insulting to their human dignity and are borrowed from the arsenal of the Russian autocracy's great-power chauvinism—"foreigner," "migrant," "undesirable tenant"—and they threaten them with deportation. And this is declared to Soviet people who are living in their common home—the USSR! Under pressure from nationalistic extremists, provisions have been included in the programs and charters of those republics' people's fronts that are contrary to the nature of a multinational society built on the principles of socialist internationalism. They express a desire to limit the sovereignty of the

USSR and the Soviet people, weaken the socialist federation, and turn it into a rickety confederation: the proclamation of the right to veto laws of the USSR or to limit their effect within those republics; the declaration of the right to exclusive ownership of fixed production assets that are the property of the entire Soviet people; the introduction of private ownership into those republics' economic systems; the declaration of the supremacy of republic laws; the creation of territorial troop formations; the introduction of their own currencies, etc. "The republic delegates to the authority of the Union of states, on the basis of treaty, only certain functions (partially within the sphere of the defense of the state and of diplomacy)...."—this is specified, for example, in the program of the People's Front of Estonia.

It is striking, but a fact: confederalist tendencies are being proclaimed in a situation in which modern humanity is characterized by an intensification of integration processes in all spheres of societal life (the establishment of the European Parliament, the integration of the economies of many West European states, the search for ways to establish cooperation between the countries of the CEMA and the EEC, the proclamation of the idea of the formation of a cultural and political community of the peoples of the countries of Europe).

The Soviet people is unified and multinational. Any violation of its unity is promptly reflected in its entire social and international organism. The multinational Soviet people felt this quite obviously in the protracted destabilization of relations between the neighboring republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Internationality excesses in those republics affected the political, economic, and spiritual community of the Soviet people. The crisis over Nagornyy Karabakh was brought about not only by flagrant violations of nationalities policy by Aliyev, Bagirov, Demirchan and other former leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia, but also by deviations from socialist internationalism by certain party and soviet officials in those republics, their slide into nationalistic positions, and their joining with corrupted elements that were attempting to kindle internationality enmity and use the smokescreen of the "Karabakh problem" to try to evade retribution under the legal justice system. The CPSU called on the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia to unify in a stand of socialist internationalism and revolutionary restructuring, to restore a labor rhythm of work, and to launch an uncompromising struggle against the instigators.

Their bankrupt policies and the groundlessness of their claims to leadership could not have manifested themselves more clearly than in the tragic days for Armenia: the whole world and the whole Soviet people came to the aid of the victims of the natural disaster, while they summoned people to rallies and disseminated all sorts of fabrications and rumors.

The multinational Soviet people [narod]. Soviet people [lyudi]. These are proud words, filled with consciousness and a sense of patriotism, socialist internationalism, and the friendship and fraternity of the USSR's peoples.

We are united by common interests and by current and long-range goals. The Soviet people is a community of nations, nationalities and national groups that are developing in every way. And we will never yield this concept that is dear to every Soviet person and that embodies in concentrated form values won by titanic labor and countless sacrifices during the years of socialist construction!

### **Lack of Democratic Tradition Lamented**

18000957 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in  
*Russian* 6 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by Sh. Muladzhanov: "Honestly For and Honestly Against"]

[Text] The outcome of the political milestone—and the March 26 election unquestionably was a milestone—will probably be assessed, evaluated and argued over for a long time. Who was chosen and why? How did election results reflect the processes under way in society? How much do the representatives of different social groups reflect their true prominence and express their interests? There is plenty of questions and we should not rush to give answers, if only because the picture is still incomplete. At best, it will become clear immediately after May 14—unless another runoff election is needed.

Another subject seems very important; it has been suggested not so much by the election itself as by the election campaign. There is no need to argue with the premise that we lack experience of conducting election campaigns democratically—as is also the case with elections featuring more than one candidate. The problem is that this premise can lead to different conclusions. Let us not dwell on examples already well-known to the public and much discussed in the press, including MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. Let us turn to recent letters to the newspaper.

"While rayon residents are free to judge positive and negative qualities of the candidates and their programs, we feel obliged to refute slanderous inventions about one of them, Professor M.Ya.Lemeshev, Ph.D. in Economics and United Nations expert on the environment." This letter's authors are Academicians A.Yanshin (USSR people's deputy-elect), G.Golitsyn and A.Aganbegyan, the USSR Academy of Sciences' Correspondent Member T.Enyev, Agricultural Academician V.Tikhonov (another deputy-elect) and G.Kotelnikov, Ph.D. in Biology. They were outraged—justly in my opinion—by the actions of those who confuse honest debate and dirty play in which any and all means are permitted to attain one's ends.

There is no sin of which such people would not accuse their rival. In the case of Lemeshev, they used a broad range of tricks, from claiming that he allegedly refused to protest against the plan to reverse the flow of the northern rivers, to co-opting him into the ranks of "Pamyat" extremists. However, these very respectable



colleagues claim that Lemeshev did participate in the struggle against the "project of the century", the brain-child of those who gathered under the aegis of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and did so not only very actively but, most importantly, effectively. Nor did he or any other member of the courageous commission headed by Academician A. Yanshin have anything to do with "Pamyat". This is a clear example applying "power struggle" methods that have become so notorious in the world of science to the election campaign. Thus, the authors of the collection "Theory and Methods of Managing Continental Water Resources," which was—purely by accident, of course—published by the VASKhNIL's Industry Scientific Hydro Technology and Land Reclamation Complex right before the election, attempted to make up for their total lack of scientific arguments by similar political insinuations; both Lemeshev and his supporters were given plenty of labels in that book.

Some methods were also borrowed from literary practice. As described in popular memoirs and revealing articles in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and literary magazines, critics ganging up on literary works frequently used opinions of respected people in heated debates distorting or even completely reshaping them. Such instances occurred many times during the election campaign. At rallies, in leaflets and even in interviews, supporters of certain candidates and even, alas, candidates themselves often went so far as to misquote well-known and respected people, true supporters of perestroika.

Let us return to the above-mentioned letter, which cites one such example. The authors describe how Lemeshev's opponents often claimed publicly that S. Zalyinin, the editor-in-chief of NOVYY MIR, thought little of Lemeshev. Yet, on the eve of the election the writer himself published an appeal to voters to cast their ballots for Lemeshev.

Indeed, we are yet to learn true democratic methods and means of conducting election campaigns. This refers not only to the activists of the informal society "For Acceleration and Purity of Perestroika", who published an insulting leaflet against the very same Lemeshev or to the participants of debates and rallies who often fall under the sway of emotion and lofty statements; we all must attain a new, higher level of political, moral and ethical maturity. To be honest, some employees of organizations, soviet entities and some party committees, when they get too involved in the election campaign, often succumb to the temptation of trying to attain their ends regardless of means and sorting things out later. Of course, they rarely come as far as the brink of legality, but we are setting very high standards and raise the issue of true political ethics, in pre-election debates as well.

How can political ethics justify the appeal to Frunzenskiy, Sverdlovskiy, Dzerzhinskiy and some other rayon residents to make a mockery of the elections and scratch

out all candidates. Hundreds of copies of this appeal were distributed. What were the arguments and reasons of those who wrote it? In this particular case, the action group did not deign to offer them. But they did have plenty of desire to push their own failed gods onto the election. Employed by all available means, even at the expense of innocent candidates.

Discussing this issue in his letter, journalist V. Yanchevskiy notes (he is a voter registered in the Sverdlovskiy Rayon district and, like many others, he was outraged by the provocative leaflets of that unknown "independent action group"): "I am convinced that the issue will arise how to provide moral and ethical protection for candidates, regardless of whether they won or lost their battle for the deputy's mandate. It is clear that insulting and, moreover, unjust labels are unacceptable as means of campaigning against those whom the people has chosen as his candidates."

Indeed, it is becoming increasingly clear even to those who find lessons of democracy hard to learn and who can not get rid of old discredited methods and tricks, and not only those that come from literary and scientific practice. The issue of candidate protection raised by Yanchevskiy must not only be discussed but resolved as well. It is equally clear that it will become even more pressing during the impending elections to local soviets.

At present, we should use as much as possible the plentiful possibilities offered by public pressure to make sure that at districts were runoff or new elections of the USSR people's deputies are scheduled the campaign concludes properly. The lessons should be evaluated and useful conclusions drawn. There are good practical examples of proper campaigns. Take for instance the leaflet distributed by the supporters of A. Kanashchenkov, who ran in the Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon voting district. It not only described his platform but carried on substantive debate on the program proposed by his rival V. Yaroshenko. Criticism, however, was directed against specific, clearly defined issues. The arguments, slogans and promises of one candidate were contrasted to arguments and proposals of the other. It gave an opportunity to compare and choose; it showed respect for the opponent, and for the voters, as well.

"We have waited for these, real elections for a long time, perhaps even too long. This is why perhaps we were not so adroit on the final stretch." I think that the author of this letter, D. Yarovenko, is right. This is why we all see this step of political reform as so decisive. By taking this step we obviously move closer to the goals of perestroika. But even those goals, uniquely important and daring though they are, do not justify any and all means. This is what I thought while reading election-related mail in anticipation of the day when many Moscovites—myself included—once again march to the polls. Every



one of us thinks that his candidate is most the deserving. But does this mean that we should resuscitate the extremely dangerous motto—he who is not with us is against us?

I am convinced that it must not be repeated. It would certainly be a step backwards and toward the priorities we have so painfully left behind. Let us remember this when we campaign and vote for our candidates. Everyone has the right to be for or against, even if you yourself are sure that they are in error.

**LiSSR CP First Secretary's Open Letter on Election Eve**

*18000907 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
23 Mar 89 p 1*

[Appeal from the Lithuanian SSR CP Central Committee, signed by Algirdas Brazauskas: "Open Letter to You, Hard-Working Lithuanian Resident"]

[Text] At the start of this appeal I want to thank you for heeding last summer the repeated call by the new leadership of the Soviet land and starting to think in a new way, lifting your spirit, working well and restructuring. Thank you for coming to Gediminas Square, at the foot of the Castle Mountain in Vilnius, to bid farewell to the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party's delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. I was happy to see there, under the blue skies of the capital, parents with their sons and daughters, young men with their brides and old folks with their grandchildren. The close link between generations is the truth path to our common better future.

Thank you for sharing your dreams, desires and hopes with Lithuania's communists at Gediminas Square; thank you for your eyes that were bright, clear, full of spirit and restraint and thank you for not becoming a crowd—a grey mass ruled by passion. We surprised ourselves. All those who saw and heard it felt within themselves the start of rebirth and the aspiration for the common goal. Europe heard it and the world took notice: the continent of human spirit awakened by the man of the year Mikhail Gorbachev and by new thinking is rising.

Thank you for the feelings you have shown, thoughts you have expressed, last year's harvest that matured in the fields, the saplings that were planted and took root last year, whose buds are now filled with life, the baby born last year and the new house that was built. We can and must work harder and live better than we have done. Yet, it is not only the desire to have a better material life that compels us toward new thinking and actions.

We want to speak the language our ancestors spoke, and we want to own the lakes, the mountains, the fields, the pastures, the forests and the seas our forefathers bequeathed to us. We want to survive in Lithuania and live here. For a long time we have been terrorized, so that

we could not even utter the sacred words: "Lithuania, our motherland." Our motherland was something huge—the tundra, the taiga and the volcanos—whereas Lithuania was only a homeland. Yet, it is for our motherland—for Lithuania and its rebirth—that Done-laitis, Daukantas, Basanavichyus, Kudirka and Mayronis were calling upon us to work and to sacrifice ourselves. Today, the people's pride for the glorious past is coming back; we get inspiration for new achievements from that past. We are bringing back old celebrations that have been preserved in popular memory.

On March 26, the USSR people's deputies will be elected. Their duty will be to carry out the main goal of political reform in the country: to give all power to the Soviets. We will open a new, clean page of history. Let us live and work so as not to feel compelled to condemn the dead, be ashamed of our former state and party leaders, tear down their monuments and change the names of factories, streets and ships. This should not happen again. The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party in its appeal to you has expressed its intentions, desires and the aims we will try to achieve at the supreme organ of power in the country. We want to serve you, your family and our people; to serve the entire Lithuania and the ethnic groups that have lived here since time immemorial; we want to exchange freely the fruits of our labor with our neighbors and with other peoples for the benefit of the entire humanity.

The Communist Party of Lithuania approaches the elections with a firm program: to attain sovereignty and economic independence for the republic, to revive and restore the national and human values of Lithuanians and other Lithuania residents and to restore good relations between man and nature. The foundation of our perestroika is the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

Today we decisively reject the use of imperative and develop glasnost. At the same time, we must be aware of reality and glasnost's real limits. Perestroika cannot be accomplished in one day or one year. This unique opportunity for rebirth and renewal that history has given us has its own logic, dialectics and laws. We must be guided by political wisdom and constantly make sure that we are not taking upon ourselves an unsustainable burden, to avoid destroying what we already have. It is well-known that there are still forces for whom the nostalgia for the strong hand is not mere empty words.

There is also another extreme: to try to solve inveterate problems at one go and to jump ahead of life's pace. Some people who sincerely wish to accelerate perestroika support those extreme slogans. Yet, others hide their adventurous aims behind such statements. The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party disavows such extreme, dangerous tendencies and condemns them. Our main goal is sovereignty for Lithuania as an equal union republic.

We listen to criticism of yesterday's mistakes without empty bravado or taking offense. Today, the healthy forces within the party seek support among the people. We will achieve progress together with Lithuania's komsomol, Lithuanian trade unions, the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, Lithuania's Greens and other groups and societies.

The 12th Plenum of the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party alarmed many people: did it not signal a return to the ways of the past? No, hundred times no. The line of the Lithuanian Communist Party is firm and unalterable: to lead the republic toward perestroyka.

Let us be reborn, free ourselves of all alien influences and grow closer together. There is nothing we cannot do; we have everything we need to live in a union of free republics.

Your aspiration to earn an honest living and to be able to buy goods with your earnings is natural. But it has been crudely distorted into command relations in the economy. When that economy was being built on a dogmatic conviction that everything must be different under socialism, there was a lot of violence and compulsion. We are convinced that to restore democracy in the economy we will not need to resort to measures used at that time. Yet, there will be difficulties and we must be patient. There is no other way.

What will the Lithuanian Communist Party undertake now and especially after the elections? Our special concern is housing. This issue is also of great concern to you, young man, since you want to get married and have children; and you, father, since your children have grown and are about to have kids of their own. Where will they live? The party will eliminate artificial impediments in apartment construction and will use its influence over those who create those impediments. Housing construction is a priority; it will get the republic's resources even if we must take them away from other, equally important construction projects.

By all means at our disposal we will try to make workers proud for their labor, to prevent low-quality food products from getting into the retail trade system. We will strengthen society's self-defence against poor quality goods and, with the help of consumer cooperatives, against unrealistic prices.

We will use all our resources and new, nontraditional means to improve the lot of Lithuania's people, especially the least protected among them: the disabled, mothers with dependent children and veterans.

With society's support, the Lithuanian Communist Party's Central Committee and the republic's government decisively stated that environmental considerations, not industrial ones, should have priority. We want environmental problems to be discussed openly and democratically and we want decisions to serve the interests of the

entire society. Events at Ionava have once again showed that nature is our common house and misfortune sometimes strikes it. Those who constantly prickle our environmental conscience are right.

We are building the new economy together with you and for the benefit of your family and the common good. The Lithuanian Communist Party's Central Committee and the republic's government state that they will make a consistent effort to fully carry out the program of economic independence which is supported by society and which they have always defended, and will continue to defend, it at all levels. Materials currently published for popular discussion are just a simplified version of the economic independence devised by our Baltic republics, equal for all of us. We can work and live based on a more mature concept and we will fight for it. Starting next year Lithuania, the first among the republics, will switch to economic independence and self-financing.

This is why we ask, propose and demand of you in this rather difficult period of economic development to control yourselves, and prevent violations of labor discipline by yourselves or others, shoddy work, attacks, disorder or devil-may-care attitude. In the name of a better future for everyone, we will require everyone—from average workers to managers, officials and communists—to carry out their duties properly and remain honest and exemplary as befits patriots of a state that is undergoing rebirth.

Where should we find spiritual sustenance? Our goal is to create new social conscience and a state based on the rule of law. Our duty is to strengthen Lithuania's extremely young political and national renaissance and promote freedom, democracy, sincerity, glasnost, decency and tolerance.

At times, at a rally or in a procession, when you find yourself in a crowd, you do not even notice how you can lose yourself in it, and how easy it is then to inflame and dissolve you, turning you into a flammable natural mass. This is why we ask you, Lithuanian resident, not to become dissolved in the crowd, not to lose your head, to think, to compare and to contrast!

There is no contradiction between true national and internationalist values, and there can be none. The values of any nation are eternal and valuable—their language, history, traditions, psychological characteristics, way of life, customs and the whole of original national culture. By identifying problems on a timely basis and being tolerant toward aspects that make us different from one another, let us jointly put interethnic relations, too, onto a path to perestroyka.

The most valuable component of man's spiritual life is truth, which is inconceivable without information, knowledge and glasnost which has given a powerful impetus to perestroyka and rebirth. The party will continue to encourage glasnost. The historical truth about

the people, the tragic and very complex pages in the history of Lithuania, should help society achieve a true renaissance and make it stronger. It will be your spiritual renaissance, no matter who you were born as: a Lithuanian, a Russian, a Pole, a Jew, a Belorussian, a Ukrainian or a Latvian. Aware that our society's ills have become deeply rooted, let us aspire to objective truth based on legal and moral criteria.

The recent ideological and political work has already born certain fruit, and it shows that we must change the role of the church and religion in the life of society in order to achieve true freedom of conscience, teach people the moral and sober way of life and to strengthen the family, philanthropy and charity. The basis for our cooperation is human values, humanism, culture and our cultural affinity and tolerance for believers and heretics. Man is our goal.

In these democratic elections we will cast our votes for candidates whose future course is charted by the specific and realistic program of perestroika, who are able and see how to carry out that program, for open, not supercilious individuals, who are at the same time demanding and decisive. We can conclude: let us vote for those who can best represent us, the whole of Lithuania, at the congress of the USSR people's deputies and also on our European continent and in the world. It is a pleasure to work, fight and hold positions when one stands shoulder to shoulder with experienced, skilled, committed and decent people. I think that you know them all, you have seen their faces and heard their voices, since they are no longer forced to hide from the people under the guise of false modesty.

This is our letter, Lithuanian resident. It comes from the depths of our heart. We have no serious differences about our great goal. Let us not quarrel over minor things, as our external and internal enemies would wish, since it would give them great joy. Only coming together can we get closer to our future that is so dear to our people. I wish you all the best in work and in family life.

#### **Yedinstvo Urges Consolidation of Forces on Election Eve**

18000761 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
21 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by L. Koritskaya under the rubric "Notes From a Meeting": "For the Consolidation of Social Forces"]

[Text] On Sunday in Nagornyy Park a pre-election meeting took place, organized by the Vilnius city council of the Socialist Movement for Perestroika in Lithuania, "Vienybe-Yedinstvo-Yednost'." Workers' representatives from 186 metropolitan enterprises, organizations, and educational institutions and members of initiative groups from Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Panevezhys, and other cities and rayons of the republic participated in the meeting.

The following candidates for USSR people's deputy attended and spoke to the voters: K. Zaletskas, first secretary of the Vilnius Lithuanian CP Gorkom; V. Shved, first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy Lithuanian CP Raykom; I. Tikhonovich, associate professor at the Vilnius State Pedagogical Institute; Major General S. Nekroshus, chief of staff of LiSSR civil defense; O. Burdenko, director of the Vilnius radiation counter factory imeni 60th Anniversary of October; Ch. Yurshe-nas, information representative of the republic Council of Ministers; M. Shkulepa, brigade leader at the radiation counter factory; V. Shurupov, serviceman; and V. Zhukovskiy, milling-machine operator at the Vilnius arc welding equipment factory and delegate to 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The candidates set forth their pre-election platforms.

On the whole it is noted that the awakening of public initiatives under conditions of the ongoing economic restructuring is appropriate to the situation. But it was emphasized that the activity of all social and political movements must be directed towards the consolidation of forces for implementation of the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and towards creation, not destruction.

The speakers dwelled on the causes favoring the development of unhealthy processes in the republic. Reproaches were heard concerning the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the government of the republic, which do not always take timely and effective measures to suppress interethnic discord. That hinders resolution of vital economic and social problems and improvement of the workers' standard of living and, on the whole, it impedes perestroika.

The election platforms of the candidates for deputy share common aims. Chief among these are absolute authority of the soviets, social justice, economic independence of the republic within the framework of the USSR, legal protections for the individual, equal democratic rights for citizens irrespective of nationality, and others.

All the speakers concurred that each individual residing in the republic must feel himself its master, and must honestly and conscientiously work for its welfare.

Meanwhile, the instructions from the voters were mixed. A number of statements by participants of the meeting expressed a fully justified uneasiness. And indeed over the 70 years of Soviet power people have already heard plenty of pre-election programs and overly optimistic plans, the majority of which remain unrealized.

It is no coincidence that the nationalities question became the chief issue of the present election campaign. Discussions on national themes occupy not only free time in the workshops of enterprises, but frequently

work hours too. All of that adds pressure to the situation and upsets people's routines.

Indeed, it is not easy for ordinary people to understand what has happened to all of us today. Why have we ceased to understand one another?

Automatically the view suggests itself that someone finds advantage in the principle of divide and conquer. Perestroika, initiated by so many useful and necessary issues, such as the struggle with bureaucracy, special privileges, routine, and stagnation, has gone awry and, as they say, "recycled itself" into the nationalities question. It is not difficult to imagine what would happen to the bureaucratic apparatus, swollen to impossible proportions, if everyone together—Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, and others—shook up that inert bulk, which the decades have heaped up.

No one is infringing, as the meeting's participants noted, upon the right to make Lithuanian the official language. It is necessary to study the issue as quickly and competently as possible, but help must be present, sincere and benevolent help, without pressure and force. Because the question of an official Lithuanian language has been raised so sharply only recently, one should not run ahead of what is possible. Common sense must prevail over ambitions.

There is indeed plenty to be soberly thought over and considered. Now the main task is to ensure that worthy people, faithful to the ideas of perestroika, enter the supreme organ of USSR authority. The speakers demanded that they not forget that a deputy is an elected representative of the people, and not a chosen person for whom all is permitted.

The candidates were given a mandate—to tear down and clear away the wall of distrust and animosity arising between the representatives of the various nations and nationalities populating Lithuania.

A number of other wishes and requests were addressed to the candidates for deputy. Requests were made to put in order cooperative trade and order the distribution of housing.

The majority of speeches were made in a balanced, self-restrained manner. But a few emotional outbursts, declarative announcements, and categorical demands could not be avoided. Again there were heard appeals for strikes and the creation of "Slavic" autonomies. These were simply provocative utterances. Happily, in the other speeches these appeals did not find any support and were condemned.

The meeting adopted an appeal to the candidates and a resolution.

### Candidacy of NEVA Editor Necessary for Restructuring

18000839 Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA* in Russian 17 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by D. Likhachev, V. Konetskiy, B. Strugatskiy, V. Popov, A. Kushner: "Why We Are in Favor"]

[Text] So much depends upon the current elections that news of the election campaign—be it joyful or distressing—perturbs everyone's mind and heart. We, and, we hope, many other Leningraders, were especially gladdened by the news that the writer Boris Nikolskiy, chief editor of NEVA, has registered his candidacy for people's deputy of the USSR for Smolninskiy territorial district No 58.

Does a writer need a deputy's mandate? Of course not. In general he needs nothing but a sheaf of clean paper. But the writer in Russia has never been just a writer, just an artist. Literature and men of literature have traditionally been expected to answer too many crucial questions in this country, and that very expectation thrusts our artists out onto the social stage.

We have long known Nikolskiy as a writer, but in recent years we have seen vivid evidence of another of his talents, that of a new type of social and political activist, who has been called into being by the demands of revolutionary renewal in our society. The main trait of this type of social activist is unity of word and deed, of word and the life he lives.

In November and December 1986, Leningrad's literary community awaited in agitation the outcome of NEVA'S face-off with some very influential centers of authority. The point at issue was V. Dudintsev's novel "White Garments." Publication was hanging by a thread, the periodical had gone on hold, hope of restructuring in literature was being killed as we watched... And who knows—without Nikolskiy's stubborn courage perhaps many remarkable works would have remained unpublished to this day.

When we read now in Nikolskiy's program that a people's deputy should not be a silent extra but an independent activist, a political combatant capable of expressing the crucial interests of his electors and of defending those interests to the last, we do not doubt for a moment that Boris Nikolskiy, if elected, will be just such a deputy. He has, after all, more than once had occasion to demonstrate his steadfastness, his courage, and the mettle of a political combatant before our very eyes in his capacity as writer and editor.

"No secrets from the people! For the citizen's unqualified right to all information in its entirety!"

"For the rebirth of Leningrad's dignity as a great city!"

This is also from Nikolskiy's electoral program. And this also we take not as exhortation or wishful thinking but as realistic goals to work toward. And not just because right there in the program concrete steps are outlined and resources to attain the set goals are indicated, but also because the candidate himself has done quite a bit toward the achievement of those goals here and now.

Can anyone think that the burgeoning authority of "Neva," which has almost tripled its circulation over the past two years and has become one of the country's most popular literary periodicals, does not further the rebirth of our city's fame as a cultural center? And the exposure of ordinary readers to the works of A. Akhmatova, B. Dudintsev, I. Brodskiy, L. Chukovskaya, and A. Koesler, to bold articles on our past, present, and future—are these not concrete steps toward the declared goal of "No secrets from the people!"?

Restructuring needs splendid, lofty goals, but even more it needs people with the boldness and the ability to take the difficult first steps toward those goals. This is why we support the candidacy of Boris Nikolskiy and call upon all those who trust us to give him their votes.

#### **ArSSR First Secretary Arutyunyan 23 Mar Address to Voters**

18300522 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST in Russian*  
24 Mar 89 pp 1-3

[Speech by S. G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, at a meeting of the voters of Election District No 737 in Leninakan on March 23: "In the Name of Perestroyka—For the Good of the People"]

[Text] Preparations for the election of USSR people's deputies have been carried out at a difficult and tense time in the republic. Added to problems that have accumulated for years are those of a natural calamity. To eliminate the consequences of the earthquake while resolving these other matters, the efforts of the workers must be mobilized and the work of party organizations restructured so as to increase efficiency in every way possible and to consolidate the forces of society.

Vital and formidable tasks exist in the national economy, in satisfying the needs of the workers, in restoring morale and the psychological climate, and in galvanizing all the resources of our economy, knowledge, and spiritual culture into action. In carrying out the programs, assignments, and policy developed by the party for the revolutionary renewal of the country, the role of a people's deputy is one of immense importance. He is called upon to be the spokesman for the hopes and plans of the people; to live with their interests and concerns; to struggle on behalf of the public good; to see the main purpose of his life and activity in serving the people; and to regard the strengthening of the might of the motherland as his high duty.

On 23 March a meeting of voters was held in the Leninakan Textile Workers Palace of Culture with Suren Gurenovich Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee and the candidate for people's deputy of Election District No. 737 in Leninakan. Present were members of the labor collectives in industry and agriculture of the cities of Leninakan and Artik, as well as Akhuranskiy, Amasiyskiy, Aniyskiy, Artikskiy, Gukasyanskiy, and Talinskiy rayons; spokesmen of science and culture; party, soviet, management, trade union, and Komsomol workers; together with worker representatives from building, design, and other organizations of the union republics operating in a number of cities and rayons within the disaster area.

The meeting was opened with introductory remarks by P. Stepanyan, general director of the Hosiery Production Association and chairman of the District Election Commission. Following a moment of silence in honor of the earthquake victims, the floor was then turned over to Professor K. Ovsepyan, rector of Leninakan Pedagogical Institute, in his capacity as official spokesman for the candidate. After recounting the life and career activities of S. G. Arutyunyan, he noted that the candidate had been performing effectively in achieving social and economic progress in the republic, in overcoming the problems that had accumulated, and in restoring the political atmosphere and the state of morale. His regular visits to the disaster zone, his meetings with the inhabitants and construction workers, had greatly expedited reconstruction of the devastated cities and helped to consolidate and restore the the spiritual forces of the people and return life to its normal pattern. By his personal intervention, his readiness to be useful in serving people, and his alert response to their concerns, S. Arutyunyan, he said, had won the love and respect of the working people. K. Ovsepyan called on the voters of the district to elect the candidate unanimously on election day, 26 March.

Addressing the meeting were S., Tigranyan, worker at the Armkamnerrezmash Production Association; A. Ovsepyan, kolkhoz milker Musayelyan Village, Akhuryanskiy Rayon, and delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference; A. Akopyan, stone-cutting machine operator, Artiktuf Production Association; I. Naumenko, director of the Mosspetsstroy Association; and S. Kinaktsyan, chief physician, Leninakan Association for Pediatric Medicine No. 1. The speakers discussed the restoration of urban and rural areas as well as industrial enterprises, developments in spring agricultural operations, and difficulties in job placement and how to overcome them. They noted that construction operations were still not progressing everywhere as they should be; that work in transport, trade, public food provision and communal services was in a number of places extremely unsatisfactory; and that there were housing shortages. The voters demanded that local party, soviet, and other bodies diligently apply themselves to the tasks of special concern to the local population, that they respond to their needs in a timely manner, and that they demonstrate a sensitive and solicitous attitude

towards people. In this connection the speakers gave a number of mandates to their candidate, and they called upon the voters to elect unanimously Comrade Suren Gurgenovitch Arutyunyan.

The floor was then turned over to S. G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee and nominee for election to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Comrades!

I will not hide the fact that I have come to meet you with feelings of deep emotion. This is understandable. For all our people, the entire republic, all of us together, are living through a profound drama in the aftermath of the ruinous earthquake with the unpredictable trials and tribulations that have befallen us.

In the first hours that followed this calamitous blow I was here with you. Words cannot express what was to be seen in Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan, and in the rayon centers and villages of the disaster zone. One could only shudder at the sight of entire residential blocks, along with enterprises, schools, and hospitals, wiped off the face of the earth. One could only be struck dumb with pain at the measureless grief of mothers who had lost their children—and of children deprived of their mothers. I think that many decades hence our descendants will be shaken in spirit as they recall that fateful day, 7 December 1988, so deep are the wounds that it left on our ancient land.

I am fully aware of the lofty responsibility that is mine as first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, as a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's commission, for eliminating the consequences of the earthquake; and, as your nominee for election to the USSR People's Deputies, for the revival of the stricken region and the restoration of everything that the elements so pitilessly destroyed.

The central focus of my election platform is the individual—our contemporary and compatriot—together with the difficult questions that confront him today: questions of how to develop our society, Soviet Armenia; of the future of the Armenian people; of safeguarding our environment and our native language, our history and culture; and, of course, of the future of the cities and rural areas stricken by the earthquake as well as the future of our children.

My election platform is based on a comprehensive program for overcoming evidence of stagnation in the economy and in the social sphere and for improving the intellectual and moral atmosphere in the republic. This program was worked out at the September 1988 plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee and has won the wide support of communists and workers. My goal as a candidate for the office of people's deputy, and as a

citizen, is to do everything I can to implement the program for the renewal of our republic, Armenia.

Today, three and a half months after the earthquake, each one of us can grasp the entire tragedy anew, and the unprecedented scope of the disaster more deeply. The earthquake took 25,000 lives. In an instant we lost a third of the national wealth developed over the decades, and more than half a million people were deprived of their means of livelihood. How many people were maimed, mentally and physically? How many destinies were crushed? How many children were orphaned? Once again, it seems, destiny is testing our courage and fortitude. We are obliged to endure trials even to this day.

The tragedy that has befallen us has shaken the entire world. For a brief time humanity poured forth heretofore unheard-of compassion and charity. Truly, our misfortune became the misfortune of people everywhere. The profound sympathy of peoples and nations was heartening to our fatherland, and it helped us to form an unwavering resolve to revive the life of the stricken cities and villages. We are obligated, we are compelled to do so. We are not only obliged to restore that which has been destroyed but to regenerate the full life of the republic. We are obligated to do so for the sake of the present and future generations—for the sake of the future of our people. In misfortune we are not alone. The trials that have befallen the Armenian people have become those of all Soviet peoples. Our cares have become universal concerns. Armenia today is the object of pain and love experienced throughout the land by the entire country. And we are fully aware of this. Mankind today is increasingly aware of the priority of universal values. The epicenter of the earthquake has become the epicenter of human solidarity. In this respect we can detect a change in the moral climate internationally and the affirmation in the world of a new political outlook. We can discern a new attitude towards our country and perestroika.

From the very first moments of the tragedy the country directed its energies and resources at providing immediate assistance in saving people. Military and transport aircraft were mobilized as well as auto and rail transport. More than 1,500 cranes, 900 bulldozers, and almost 6,000 motor vehicles were sent to us. More than 1,200 highly qualified doctors with medical supplies and equipment and 130 medical brigades promptly arrived in the disaster area from Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities in the country. The work went on day and night, and all efforts were directed at the primary duty to save lives. Almost every day, while visiting the disaster zone, I witnessed people's suffering and the entire tragic situation. Everything had to be done under extreme and extraordinarily difficult conditions, every act carried out with feverish haste. But thousands of our countrymen, together with rescue workers from all the fraternal republics and from countries abroad, displayed courage and heroism as they pulled from the ruins more than 40,000 people and managed to save about 16,000 lives.

It would be appropriate for the Armenian CP Central Committee to submit a resolution proposing that USSR state awards be given to Soviet citizens and foreign nationals who demonstrated courage and valor in saving the lives of persons stricken by the earthquake. A proposal has already been made to establish a special commemorative medal to be presented on behalf of the ArSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for active participation in the rescue and restoration operations in the disaster zone.

The earthquake showed the steadfastness of our people and their capacity to withstand misfortune. This pitiless blow of blind elemental force did not overcome the Armenian people. I have already said, and I want to say again, that under the most challenging of circumstances our people demonstrated wisdom, unity of action, and tenacity. They succeeded in applying all their energy and will to giving effective and urgently needed assistance to the victims. The scale and the consequences of this tragedy are perhaps unprecedented, and an immense amount of work was required to mobilize the resources and capacities of the entire country.

We are all aware of the invaluable aid that was given us, and continues to be given us, by the leadership of the country—by M. S. Gorbachev, the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo, its commission on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake, and by its chairman, N. I. Ryzhkov. Within a short time an organized series of rescue and restoration operations were launched and a life-support system established. From the disaster area a total of 120,000 people—women, children, and the elderly—were evacuated. Of these, 75,000 were moved to sanatoriums, convalescent stations, tourist homes, and boarding houses elsewhere in the country. More than 250 million rubles will be spent on their maintenance. For persons left without cover in the earthquake zone, 80,000 tents and yurts, warm clothing, and food were provided. Only a week and a half after the earthquake, the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree for the provision of emergency material assistance to the stricken population. The people have so far received 178 million rubles in one-time aid and 764 million rubles in compensation for property losses. More than 70 million rubles in aid have been made available through the trade unions.

On 27 December the USSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee passed a resolution of momentous significance for our republic on the restoration of devastated cities and villages and industrial and other public projects. It sets the task of fully restoring, within a two-year period and at a cost of almost 8 billion rubles in capital outlays, destroyed housing, schools and kindergartens, hospitals and out-patient clinics—constituting the entire industrial and social infrastructure—and to create more than 170,000 work positions at a new level of technology. The country is doing all this in order to help us stand on our feet, catch our breath, and overcome this tragedy. It is incumbent upon each one of

us, each person residing in the republic, to acknowledge fully the enormous amount of assistance being given us. If we put together all the resources allotted to overcome the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia, it amounts to a sum equal to the average annual increase in the national income of our country. Once again all of us can see with our own eyes the immense advantage for the people of Armenia in being an equal member of this great family of fraternal peoples.

The workers and the entire population of Shirak were forced to endure severe trials. The city of Leninakan, along with Akhuryanskiy, Gukasyanskiy, Amasiyskiy, Aniyskiy, Aragatsskiy, Artikski, and Talinskiy rayons, suffered about two-thirds of the total losses inflicted by the earthquake. Here, about 50,000 families were left without shelter, including 37,000 in Leninakan alone. Within the city about 2.5 million square meters of living space were either partially or completely destroyed, as well as 23 schools, 12 kindergartens, 23 hospitals or out-patient clinics, as well as almost 80 percent of the administrative buildings and public utilities and service facilities.

There can be no doubt that we will rebuild and restore our cities and villages. But the most important thing is to restore the individual—his faith and equanimity of spirit. We must surround with special care those who are suffering—mothers and children, invalids, and orphans—and to do all we can to lead these people out of a state of shock, and to help those in despair regain a sense of hope. Sharing their experience with them is not enough. What is needed is genuine sustained support, and above and beyond that a program of national revival, encompassing the entire range of consequences caused by the earthquake.

The main thing today is to provide a new impulse to the entire complex of construction and restoration operations. An enormous amount of invaluable assistance in this respect is being provided by the fraternal Union republics and USSR ministries and departments. In the disaster zone over the next two years 6.3 million square meters of living space will be constructed, together with schools to accommodate 112,700 students, kindergartens for 48,100 children, hospitals with 6,700 beds, and clinics serving 12,400 out-patient visits, as well as houses of culture, commercial and communal facilities, and enterprises of industry and agriculture. Already at work in the disaster zone are 67,000 construction workers. In Leninakan alone, over the past two months, organizations involved, numbering 12,000 workers, have assimilated more than 40 million rubles in capital investments. Each day a million rubles' worth of work is completed to expand the construction front. I should like to recognize the self-sacrificing efforts of the labor collectives of USSR Minyugstroy, USSR Minuralsibstroy, USSR Minsibzapstroy, Minzhilgrazhdanstroy of the Russian Federation, and many others. Their work rate serves as a pledge that in the first six months 200,000 square meters of housing will be constructed, or 3,500



apartments; and that by 1 September about 11,000 children will have the opportunity to resume their education in newly constructed schools instead of tents. In Akhuryanskiy Rayon by mid-year 46,000 square meters of housing and schools seating 1,222 students will be built; in Artikskiy Rayon, correspondingly, 11,500 square meters of housing and schools seating 542; in Gukasyanskiy Rayon, 7,500 square meters of housing and school accommodations for 100 students. New houses and schools will also be introduced in Amasiyskiy, Aniyskiy, Talinskiy, and Aragatskiy rayons.

We value highly the initiative of the Ukrainian workers, who, in order to help the residents of Gukasyanskiy Rayon out of the dire situation they were in, committed themselves to complete in a year the program for housing construction and rehabilitation that had been assigned for them to carry out over a two-year period.

In the name of the Armenian CP Central Committee, the government of the republic, and the entire Armenian people, I should like to say a word today of sincere recognition and gratitude to the builders, designers, surveyors, workers and specialists alike, who have come to the disaster zone from all the Union republics, from Moscow and Leningrad, from krays and oblasts, to participate in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake. With what profound and heartfelt devotion, and with what selflessness, the fraternal peoples throughout the country responded to our misfortune! With what a sense of responsibility and spirit are their sons laboring in our midst! All of this demonstrates how much goodness, how much responsiveness, and what a tremendous moral force we together have at our disposal in the Soviet people. The years will pass, but never will the Armenian people forget the victorious labor of those who, standing shoulder to shoulder with them, withstood the calamity as they sacrificed themselves in reviving the cities and villages, sparing no efforts to bring back to Armenian homes the warmth of the family hearth.

I should like to express our gratitude to USSR Minister V. I. Reshetilov, who heads the staff for eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Leninakan, and who has been devoting great energy and force to the timely resolution of the tasks at hand.

Taking advantage of the fact that representatives of the military subdivisions are present at this meeting, I want to express our particular gratitude to Soviet military personnel. Forever in our memories will remain the example set by our military men at the time of the earthquake of discipline, self-sacrifice, and efficiency. Soviet Army troops, civil defense forces, and troops from the border as well as the interior, who bore the initial brunt of the rescue operations, did everything possible—and accomplished the impossible—in rescuing people who had been buried alive in the ruins, in administering first aid to them, and in dressing and feeding them and keeping them warm. The hour of misfortune, the hour of

trial, reaffirmed with new force that our army is of one flesh and blood with the people.

Comrades!

Today we are all concerned with the question: What kind of restoration of our cities and villages will there be? How will the architecture and infrastructure meet current requirements of modern city planning as well as traditional standards of Armenian architecture? We are devoting particular attention to these questions. The finest design organizations in the republic and the country have been recruited to draw up the general plans and draft detailed blueprints. We are making every effort to give this work broad public exposure, so that the general plans designed for cities and settlements may be taken under consideration with public participation locally.

We are well aware of the situation as it stands in the disaster area. Thousands of people are without homes and without work. Moreover, other vital life-support matters remain unresolved. The situation is especially difficult for women with children, and for families that have lost their means of subsistence. We shall continue to focus our attention on these matters and take concrete steps towards their speedy solution. We must build in an even better and stronger way, and without doubt we must maintain strict quality control. No one has the right to repeat mistakes of the past or to show a careless attitude towards construction quality. With this in mind we should review our entire architectural and construction strategy. At the same time, however, it is our duty to do everything called for within the time stipulated by the decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee—that is, within the course of two years—so as to ensure the completion of all programs provided for and to create for the stricken population normal conditions of daily life and work. When one comes into contact with these people, and gains an insight into their extremely desperate state, one becomes keenly aware that a delay of so much as a day in the performance of this task is not to be tolerated.

What will the future Leninakan look like? Housing with 2.1 million square meters of living space will be constructed in conjunction with all the necessary municipal services. At the same time, current plans provide for preserving the integrity of the city's form, while giving consideration to every aspect of construction in the area from the standpoint of engineering, geology, and seismic stability. Planning options have been so selected as to entirely avoid uniformity and monotony, incorporating such features as streets for pedestrian traffic as well as commerce, fountains, and small parks for children's play. Concurrently with this construction, in other cities as well as in Leninakan, cultural and architectural antiquities will be restored. First of all, we shall concern ourselves with the historical and architectural memorial of Kumayr, the house museum of Minas Avetisyan in the village of Dzhadzhur, and his famous frescoes in the club



that is in Vagramaberd Village, Akhuryanskiy Rayon, as well as in a number of Leninakan enterprises.

New living quarters Kirovakan, Spitak, Stepanavan, and in the rayon centers and all population points of the stricken area, will be built with the latest technology. A task of particular importance is to give to the stricken villages new facilities and an up-to-date appearance. You will agree with me that the impression they produce is a depressing one. Here, for years the most urgent requirements of the people, their basic needs and wants, have been ignored. How could the people endure such a situation when many villages were simply run down, without water, sanitation, gas, paved streets, or the necessary commercial, public, or social services, to say nothing of organizations for cultural recreation? Things had come to such a pass that they had already begun to form cooperatives for the sale of potable water to the villages.

We must alter in a decisive and radical way our attitude towards the problems of the rural population. We must surround them with daily care and attention. In the course of restoration entirely new villages will be constructed. The rural houses will be of the cottage type with due consideration given to the traditional Armenian way of life, but with all the modern conveniences. To this end it is necessary to approach in a new way the solution of problems of village planning, road construction, and communications facilities, as well as the distribution of agricultural building sites.

The work before us is enormous, but we must carry it out. The situation is further complicated by other factors. According to conclusions reached by specialists, 11 villages of the Shirakskiy region are to be built in new areas, including 6 villages in Akhuryanskiy Rayon (Aykavan, Arapi, Voskeask, Getk, Dzharat, and Krashen); 4 villages are to be built in Aniyskiy Rayon (Aykadzor, Ani-pemza, Lusakpyur, and Sarakap; and one village is to be built in Gukasyanskiy Rayon (Arteni). Right now the building of more than a hundred model sites for both production and residential use are in the process of completion, so that in the very near future construction may commence on a broad front.

We have the example of a new approach to village reconstruction. Prior to the earthquake the villages of Lernut and Karmrakar in Akhuryanskiy Rayon were on the brink of extinction. The collective of the builders' production association, Armgazprom, pledged not only to bring them completely back to life, but to transform them into villages of the future. Here, together with high-quality housing will be constructed production and social facilities. The new Lernut and Karmrakar will be able to accommodate up to 2,000 residents. All our villages should turn out to be like these.

The task of creating rural towns merits special attention. It is a matter that must be studied with greater intensity and persistence. We are well aware that today we face a very difficult situation with respect to the distribution of

people. There are about 120,000 evacuees who will be returned; another 115,000 person have found shelter with their relatives, friends, or simply people kind to them. Approximately 65,000, including women, children, and elderly persons, have been living these past months in tents, even under severe winter conditions, in Gukasyanskiy, Amasiyskiy, and Aragatssky rayons. Of those remaining in the disaster zone without shelter at this time, only 27,500 persons are settled in huts and wagons.

Accelerating the solution of the housing problem for the stricken population and returning to normal their living conditions prior to the onset of winter next year is the urgent and acute social and political problem on which we are concentrating our efforts and resources today. One of the fundamental aspects, we believe, in the solution of this problem is increasing individual housing construction. The Armenian people have always had an inborn urge to create and construct. Over the centuries it would happen that a home was turned to ruins and a person was left without shelter, but each time the working hands of the Armenian builder revived its dying hearth. And today in the disaster zone thousands of families have expressed the desire to build and restore their homes. We will support them in every way that we can, creating all the conditions necessary for this purpose.

A few days ago the buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee considered measures to increase the amount of housing construction by individuals, and it set itself the task of making up for shortcomings in this respect within the shortest possible time, specifically, with respect to the allotment of land parcels, the drawing up of plans for improved seismic stability, and arranging for the sale of construction materials to the local population. The republic Gosplan, Gosstroy, and Gosagroprom have been instructed to draw up an integrated plan for individual housing construction in cities and rayons. Naturally, each rayon will encounter its own special problems and tasks. It is the duty of the local soviets therefore to take everything into consideration and create the most favorable conditions for development of these efforts. At the same time, all measures are to be undertaken to provide people long-term credit up to 30,000 rubles at favorable terms and to supply them with the kind of equipment they need as well as the building materials necessary.

A complete solution of the housing problem this year is, of course, impossible. We therefore attach special significance to the creation of temporary housing for the population. Presently the disaster zone has more than 14,000 tractor sheds and 2,100 protective huts or lean-tos. But such shelter is extremely inadequate. The country's resources are now being mobilized to assist us. At the same time, republic industrial enterprises are now gearing up to produce huts. Sheds and huts can be put up on garden plots, adapted to provide temporary housing, and later used for appropriate purposes. In this regard it is necessary to expedite the allotment of land parcels and organize new gardening cooperatives.

The housing situation today has become aggravated further by the fact that, as a result of the impact of successive shocks, a considerable number of houses and buildings cannot be used. Although in the first days of the earthquake the volume of repair and renovation work on just the sites and structures that had not been destroyed was estimated at about 300 million rubles, detailed surveys today indicate that the total amount already exceeds the initial estimate by four of five times. In Leninakan alone the figure required to carry out the restoration work is almost 350 million rubles higher than it was originally. The situation is made increasingly difficult because of the fact that all the construction resources available in the earthquake zone are needed for reconstruction work alone—without any new construction whatever. But, of course, we cannot resort to this.

We must seek additional ways to attract the resources and manpower to carry out the reconstruction work. The workers of Leningrad have been the first to respond to our appeal; they have begun the work of drafting plans and restoring the damaged buildings of one of the central blocks of Leninakan. We must also make maximum use today of the resources of our republic. We must set an example of high discipline and organization. We must strive to work harder and better than all others. And to this end all our organizational and political activities—the work of our party committees, of soviet and management organs, and our social organizations—must be directed. We must mobilize to a maximum degree the efforts of everyone, turning Armenia into a region without a single pair of idle working hands. Only in this way will we be able to fulfill our moral and humanitarian duty to our people.

We know that in Leninakan at the present time the situation is extremely difficult with respect to the organization of medical services and the teaching process. There are not enough buildings and accommodations. In view of this difficulty, the Armenian CP Central Committee passed a resolution for the transfer of the new building of the party committee of Moskovskiy Rayon for use as a hospital, the equipment for which is to be provided though by joint cooperation with firms in the Federal Republic of Germany. In addition, it was decided to turn over a building of the Shirakskiy Rayon party committee for the use of the student body of the pedagogical institute, which until now has been accommodated in tents.

We must not rely on the assumption that all the buildings will be erected—that all the work will be accomplished—for us. The revival of the region is above all our responsibility. Our people set an example of courage and manhood in the first days following the earthquake and played an active part in the rescue operations. Today we must be in the vanguard of the reconstruction. We are, as you know, born builders, and it behooves us now to set an example of work that is not only responsible but that is creative and inspired.

In the disaster zone at the present time more than 46,000 persons of the working population are incapacitated for work, including 7,200 in Leninakan, 6,750 in Akhuryanskiy Rayon, 5,000 in Artikskiy Rayon, 1,400 in Aragatsskiy Rayon, and 2,500 people in Talinskiy Rayon. There are also quite a number of people unable to work in Aniyskiy, Amasiyskiy, and other rayons. Work capability and the active involvement of people in construction and reconstruction efforts is the central focus of our attention from day to day. In only the last 15 days the number of incapacitated has been reduced by 10,000 persons, and 35,000 persons have been drawn into the construction crews. But the number is still extremely inadequate. Before the end of the year the number of construction workers in the disaster zone should rise to 200,000, and they should be made up primarily of persons who have deprived of their work positions.

We are paying particular attention to the reconstruction of the victims' industrial enterprises. But even here we have encountered difficult decisions since more than two-thirds of the production facilities in the stricken area are not operating. In Leninakan, for example, before the earthquake more than 50 million rubles' worth of industrial output was produced per month. After the earthquake virtually all the enterprises ceased to operate. Presently, operations are partially restored, and in February about 5 million rubles' worth of industrial output was produced. The first important step towards normal operation has been taken. More than a third of the collective in the Leninakan Cotton Textile Association and half the workers at the Spinning Factory imeni Lykashin are at work, and operations have resumed at a few other enterprises.

Restoring the work positions that have been lost is not an end in itself. We should create entirely new industries distinguished by their advanced technical equipment, the latest technology, and an up-to-date level of organized labor and daily life for the workers. Right now, while we are working out a long-range, thorough, comprehensive, and coordinated program to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake in every respect, we must rule out any departure from what has been planned, and we must resist the temptation to undertake temporary solutions and half-way measures, so that our descendants will in no way reproach us.

Even today the situation continues to be extraordinarily difficult. We are not satisfied, for example, with the tempo of building and restoration operations in Leninakan. Project surveys for the construction of schools, kindergartens, and other cultural and social service projects in Block No. 58 are as yet unfinished. The comprehensive use of new land for construction has not yet begun. A survey of the state housing inventory has not been completed. Even more difficult is the situation with respect to housing reconstruction in the private sector. Still another serious cause for concern is the fact that building operations in the city itself are running behind schedule.

In the first months following the earthquake, building and reconstruction efforts moved slowly not only because of the unprecedented scale of destruction but because of incompetence on the part of a number of local and republic bodies. The extreme situation clearly exposed a lack of initiative, competence, and professionalism among some of the leading officials and specialists both at the rayon and republic level. We undertook a whole series of measures to improve the management structure and replenish the ranks of officials, including the staffs of the Council of Ministers and the republic Gosstroy as well as other administrative bodies. Coordination staffs made up of experienced country specialists were set up locally.

The scale of building and reconstruction work confronted us with another task of no less importance. This was to insure the continued production of building materials in sufficient quantity, particularly of basalt and tuff and the products made of them. It must be said that in this matter we came up against great difficulties. About a million cubic meters of stone were quarried per year in the republic previously. Shortcomings in the organization of production, and a poor material and technical supply base for the stone-quarrying industry, together with an irresponsible attitude by leading officials with respect to organizing conditions of work and daily life of the workers at the quarries actually held the industry in check. After the earthquake these failings came into sharp relief. Recently, a series of measures designed to raise stone output have been given special consideration. Measures have been provided for and are already in the process of being implemented to modernize quarry operations, equipping them with heretofore absent technology, machines, and equipment, and creating all the conditions necessary for highly productive labor. A corresponding program is being carried out by the republic government with regard to environmental protection. Even the industry management system is being overhauled. City and rayon party committees and executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies should make every effort to comply with the decisions made to raise the production of building materials, and they should seek for additional ways to boost production locally, particularly in Akhuryanskiy, Artikskiy, Talinskiy, and Aniyskiy rayons, where the largest deposits of local building materials are concentrated.

Today we are engaged in strenuous efforts jointly with foreign governments and firms, as well as with our countrymen beyond our border, who have offered to assist the victims of Armenia. We have received more than 150 proposals to build houses and public utility projects, and we are now doing everything we can to translate these projects into action without delay. Italians have already begun to build a residential development for 204 families. Norwegians and representatives of the CSSR have started to erect a hospital and a school in Spitak. The British will turn over a hospital for use by September, and the Austrians will have a housing settlement for 100 families ready for occupancy before the end

of the year. Mongolians within a year will have constructed a school and a kindergarten in Talin, and Bulgarians will have a housing settlement for 300 families ready for occupancy in Kirovakan within the first six months of the year. In addition, through the facilities of the International Red Cross and Finnish specialists, a rehabilitation center with 70 beds will be built over a two-year period. As you know, a branch of the republic Medical Diagnosis Center has already been opened in Leninakan, the equipment for which has been donated by an international organization for humanitarian aid named "Medics without Bounds." It is important that we use this enormous amount of assistance, which has been donated by foreign firms and private organizations as well as given to us by our own country, wisely, effectively, and most important with an eye on the needs of the future. It should serve not only to resolve the problems of the present day, but to create the conditions necessary for developing the productive forces and the progress of the republic on an entirely new basis.

Comrades!

The new situation that has emerged since the earthquake in Armenia dictates the necessity of working out a thoroughly considered program for the development and revival of the republic. This program should be widely discussed by the public as well as the scientific and creative intelligentsia. It should encompass not only the totality of urgent problems that beset the earthquake zone. There is a need today for a new kind of thinking about the long-term prospects for development in the republic, our national economy, and the distribution of productive forces. We must devise new approaches to the development of external economic relations and the solution of ecological problems. This program should also encompass the entire spectrum of social problems, particularly with regard to social rehabilitation of the population, and matters concerned with preserving and developing the national culture, improving morale, and bettering relations between nationalities. In devising this program we must begin with the concrete conditions of the present stage of our development. The most painful task in the republic, bringing the devastated cities and villages back to life, which stands in the foreground of our concerns, cannot be dealt with in isolation, but must be addressed in relation to priorities for the overall development of the republic economy.

The national economy of Armenia is in need today not of the customary Band-Aid but of radical surgery and intensive care. Otherwise it is doomed to failure and will be unable to function under the new conditions. The pit of stagnation that we are trying to make our way out of is much deeper and more precipitous than we had supposed. Enterprises and whole industries are ensnared from head to toe in non-productive economic ties and cannot take one step without the removal of these fetters. The worsening of the economic situation in

the republic over a period of many years has been compounded by the people's dissatisfaction. Because of the aggravation of the food supply problem and the shortage of many goods and services, the republic consumer market has for many years been out of balance. The money circulation has for many years been destabilized by more than half a billion rubles in unsatisfied demand, thereby creating the conditions for negative manifestations. Unfortunately, declarations and moral admonitions have often been substituted for genuine efforts to come to terms with them. Meanwhile, in actuality, everything goes on as before. Bribery, deceit, cheating, embezzlement, and crooked profiteering continue to flourish.

The Armenian CP Central Committee is extremely concerned about the state of affairs in the field of public services and, above all, in the area of trade. We view the work of these industries with dissatisfaction. A few days ago, the issue of combating the monstrous tendencies that have cropped up in the trade area were the subject of a sharp discussion of principles by the Central Committee bureau. The leaders of the Ministry of Trade and Aykoop [not further expanded] as well as the the Council of Ministers dealing with the service sphere should be well aware that they bear personal responsibility for the state of affairs in these industries. Improving commercial activity and the entire field of public services constitutes one of the principal political tasks at the present time, and the party gorkoms and raykoms must address this sector of work with diligence, making every effort to straighten out this state of affairs as soon as possible. Moreover, this task must be performed in concert with effective public monitoring by workers everywhere, backed by widespread publicity.

No less alarming is the situation that has developed in connection with the provision of public housing. In recent years we reduced the rate of construction to the point that less living space was being turned over for occupancy than 20 years ago—and this at a time of marked increase in the number of people in need of housing. Other acute problems piled up in the social sector. For many years there was inadequate development of the material and technical supply base for education, public health services, and municipal and cultural services. There are also a number of problems of environmental protection the solution of which will entail an enormous amount of effort.

The concern of the workers aroused in connection with the placement of the nuclear electric power plant in the Ararat Valley alongside Yerevan, an area of high density and seismicity, is forever a thing of the past. For the first time in world history a high-capacity power plant producing nuclear power has been shut down. This decision is one more convincing proof of the concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for the fate of the Armenian people. The workers of the republic and our young people welcomed this decision with heartfelt gratitude.

Comrades!

We shall maintain a course to speed the social reorganization of the economy. The Central Committee, the city and rayon party committees, and party organizations will continue to concentrate their attention on improving the people's housing conditions, on providing food supplies, industrial goods and services, transport and medical facilities, and on improving ecological conditions.

It is our civil duty and sacred obligation to lend our entire attention to the protection of mothers and children; to surround with special solicitude disabled persons, orphans, and the elderly; to strengthen material and moral support for the young, and especially the families with many children. A matter of special urgency is the creation of medical and rehabilitation facilities, orthopedic and trauma centers, and institutions for treatment and convalescence. Equally important throughout this period of reconstruction is the maintenance of normal disease-control conditions.

The events that have recently taken place in the republic, together with new social and demographic processes the outcome of which cannot be seen, require us to devise and initiate a series of measures to realistically determine long-range prospects for ameliorating the negative demographic consequences of the earthquake.

The basis of qualitative transformations in the social life of the republic is an efficient economy. What remains to be done to strengthen it? The primary task is to make every effort for the economy to become innovative and dynamic; to strive for the marked acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and for the substantial transformation of productive forces. It remains to exploit thoroughly the industrial potential, especially that of the machine-building complex, so as to assure a rapid conversion to intensive methods of economic development.

The agenda calls for accelerated development of science in the republic, especially of basic research, and for obtaining a greater return in real terms from the natural and social sciences. Not a single major decision in economics, in the field of management, or with respect to ecology is to be taken without sound scientific corroboration and the objective expertise of scientists, nor without broad public discussion and the sanction of public opinion.

Naturally, it is impossible today to achieve radical changes in the development of the republic economy by continuing to use purely provincial approaches to the solution of problems which are devised internally by technocrats. We must delve deeply to expose the essence of transformed productive relations and construct our policy precisely on this basis. Here, the main considerations are to combine our interests with the developmental objectives of the country as a whole; to exhibit greater initiative, independence, and responsibility; and to exercise more fully our sovereign rights in resolving matters

of economic and social development. The direction of economic and social matters according to principles of self-management and self-financing, extending economic self-sufficiency in the organization of production, is to become a permanent ingredient of our policy for the economic transformation of the republic.

The key to successful economic development in our view is the comprehensive introduction of all aspects of management reform, applying the principles of full cost accounting to each work position. Our economic reform still has not yet started to work properly. The assimilation of efficient management methods, especially of the conversion to collective and rental contracts, is proceeding slowly. These procedures still have not been completely understood by everyone. Many people have not yet become accustomed to their position in the production process and the new character of their relation to property. In this respect a host of complex tasks remain. But we are obligated to do everything possible so that our economic reforms will start to operate at full capacity, and so that the republic economy may function during the 13th Five-Year Plan as a fully synchronized mechanism.

It is, of course, the food problem that remains the most critical and painful one of all. The March 1989 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee clearly set forth this task: to demonstrate unfailing concern for the welfare of the agricultural worker, and to establish on his behalf qualitatively new conditions of production, social relations, and daily life. Among the most innovative efforts demanded of us today is the reorganization of economic relations in rural areas. This process is now under way. Cooperatives are being formed, and cost-accounting is being introduced, together with various forms of contracts and rental agreements. The restructuring of economic relations in agriculture, however, is proceeding slowly at present in the republic. To stand by and watch, and passively wait, for cost accounting, cooperative societies, rental agreements and contracts to turn up on our fields and farms is simply not to be tolerated. We must be deeply aware of the fact that nobody is going to solve our food problem for us. It is a task for our entire party—our entire people.

In order to carry out the tasks confronting the republic, new thinking is necessary with respect to the cadres. The conservatism displayed over the years not only led to economic and social stagnation; it blunted the efforts of many leading workers, depriving them—yes, and not only them—of a sense of creative initiative. This together with a cadre “vacuum,” which exists today as never before, is seriously impeding our progress. There is one way out. That is, to carry out more decisively a policy of replenishing the ranks of the cadres—a policy designed to assure a high degree of competence at all levels of management. Those who do not justify confidence, or who do not live for the people in terms of their day-to-day interests, will be relieved of their duties, whether they have been candidates for positions of

leadership for a short time or for a long time. There are quite a few people in the republic who professionally competent, talented, and devoted to their work. I am confident that they will be able apply their energies and skills in a worthy and honorable manner, vigorously promoting endeavors that will determine the destiny of our republic. The continued strengthening of the cadre pool, the timely replenishment of cadre ranks, better use of specialists, and improved political training and education with respect to work and leadership skills: These constitute one of our most important and crucial tasks.

Improving the economy and resolving social problems have as their objective the achievement of a better and, eventually, a happier life. But a person is perhaps truly happy when not only his material wants but his inner spiritual needs and desires are satisfied. It was precisely for this reason that the September 1988 plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee charted a comprehensive program of reorganization in the field of cultural affairs. Issues of language, historical background, culture, education, and scholarship today acquire special urgency as we become witnesses to the emancipation of national self-awareness. We must hold sacred everything that has been created by the inspiration and talent of the Armenian people and that has come to us across the centuries; and not simply to preserve our heritage but so that we may contribute our mite to succeeding generations. Our people, even at the most tragic times in their history, wisely chose to sacrifice material wealth in favor of spiritual treasures; they took away with them manuscripts, and they saved their culture—their remembrance of the past. For in memory there is salvation—the secret source of a people's rebirth. And without it, there is no history, there is no morality. There is no self-awareness.

We must surround with solicitude those cultural monuments, architectural sites, and museums that have been ravaged by time and now, once again, by the elements. Out of 2,338 monuments, 155 have been completely restored; 1,199 have been half destroyed; and 984 partially destroyed. The Yereruykskiy Basilica, that pearl of Armenian medieval architecture, which dates from the 4th century, has been gravely damaged. Nor did the earthquake spare the 6th century cupola church in Zarindzh. Certain monuments in Marmashen, Mausyan, Pemzashen, Artik, Gyulagarak, and Talin are in critical condition. The Amenaprkich Church, built at the end of the 19th century, and the Surb Nshan Church in Leninakan are entirely destroyed. The state historical and cultural memorial at Kumayr and the old houses of Gymra are particularly in need of attention.

Recently the ArSSR Council of Ministers discussed the matter of restoration work and the preservation of cultural and historical moments situated in the stricken disaster area, and they took concrete measures to strengthen the material and technical supply base for

organizations engaged in restoration work in the republic. By decision of the government the specialized Arm-restavratsiya Trust was established, together with a combine for the production of building materials, and an agricultural school for training stonemasons, smiths, and woodworkers. Aware of our obligation to the future and on behalf of the past, we should undertake the difficult and painstaking work of making a scientific survey of cultural monuments, their preservation and restoration, the improvements needed in museums, and a more carefully considered placement of museums and depositories.

Steps are now being taken to bring back works of national literature and art which in bad times were sentenced to oblivion, to fill in the blank spots in the historical memory of the people, and to recreate a Marxist appraisal of a number of cultural and historical figures of the past. This, of course, is not the work of a single day, and a thoughtful approach is necessary on the part of scholars and the public. We will persist in carrying out this program.

The natural disaster has once again brought to light the sincere sentiments felt by Armenians living abroad for their native land. We should continue to develop stronger ties with them—ties of culture and business as well as of philanthropy—and invigorate them with new substance.

One of the most important aspects of education is speaking in one's own language. The Armenian language has been sanctioned by the Constitution as the state language of our republic. A protective attitude towards it and its unrestricted, widespread use in all areas of life, and concern for maintaining its social prestige, is at once a civic duty and an unflinching criterion of intelligence and the state of cultivation in a person. A document in draft form will shortly be introduced for the purposes of discussion which provides for a broad range of measures to improve the functioning and broad use of Armenian in the republic.

Today we have succeeded in working out a balanced approach to the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic (NKAO), which was imposed by the particular set of circumstances. The way to resolving this issue was not easy and demanded a good deal of strenuous effort. The key to returning the relations between nationalities in the region to normal under existing conditions is a special form of administration. Favorable conditions have now been created for the further development and extension of our relations with the NKAO. These matters were thoroughly examined in the course of recent meetings of the Armenian CP Central Committee with representatives of the NKAO creative intelligentsia. A program was worked out designed to strengthen mutual relations between the NKAO and Armenia.

Today it is the refugee problem that concerns people. Right now their number in the republic has reached 195,000. Temporarily they are living with friends and

relatives or placed in boarding houses, dormitories, and rest homes. It must be said that the process of returning these people to their places of residence is progressing slowly. Moreover, many absolutely refuse to return. Persistent efforts are needed as well as time to resolve the contradictions that have arisen and to restore people's confidence by establishing guarantees of security. But this does not mean that we shall leave the people deprived of shelter unattended all this time. It is our duty to provide the refugees with day-to-day care and to address their concerns.

Comrades!

The present voting campaign launched the start of the political reform of the political system in our society, providing full power for the people and truly serving as a school of democracy for us all. The achievement of these tasks is even stipulated in our election platform, which proceeds from the program objectives set forth in the CPSU Central Committee appeal "To the Party, and to the Soviet People." This program encompasses all priority problems facing our society—economic, social, national, and ecological—and proposes a comprehensive set of measures for resolving them.

Our party today openly acknowledges the difficulties on the way to renewal and makes no attempt to hide its errors and omissions. The lesson of truth, which is the lesson of the 27th Congress, continues to be in effect, and we are committed to coming to terms with the complex problems that beset us by relying on the truth as well as on the widespread support of the people. We should be profoundly conscious of the fact that the way in which the Armenian people enter the 21st century will depend on the political culture, along with the level of intellectual and cultural as well as economic development, that we attain today. Let us always remember this. Let us live and work with this thought in mind.

As we look back at the days and nights since 7 December 1988, in retrospect, we experience a sense of imponderable anguish and pride. These have been days of grief and brotherhood; of mourning and courage; of human solidarity and compassion. In that fateful hour the very hills of our homeland, it seemed, rose up against us. But the people rose in opposition like a ledge of rock. Armenia, our ancient land, is gravely wounded, yet lives on, lives struggling with centuries of affliction in its children, in whose eyes lurk the shadows of yet another great tragedy. Yet there is also great hope in the eyes of Armenia's children. And this hope of ours cannot be vanquished. It lives in our ancient yet still youthful souls; it lives in our aspirations and dreams. This is why I remain confident that with the help of the entire country we shall restore these blighted cities and villages. For they are the cities and villages of Armenia. We shall restore not only the houses and the enterprises, not only the architectural monuments. We shall raise from the ruins that temple in the soul of the people. We shall restore their faith and hopes for the future.

This is a difficult task, but we shall accomplish it: Centuries of history, the destiny of our people, their will to live and to create, attest to it.

**Belorussian CP CC, Council of Ministers  
Discusses Chernobyl Clean Up**

*18000976a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 25 Mar 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "At the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the Belorussian Council of Ministers"]

[Text] As was noted in the decree of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro and the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers "On Developing a Comprehensive Republic Program for 1990-1995 in Eliminating the After-Effects Within the Territory of the Republic of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES," a number of large, top-priority steps have been taken to create safe living and working conditions for the populations of areas subjected to radioactive contamination. Involved in these measures in the three years since the accident have been: party, soviet, and economic organs, workers' collectives in industry, construction, and agriculture, and military subdivisions. Nine hundred five million rubles in capital investments and 9,770 newly-built apartment houses, into which 24.7 thousand residents have moved, have gone toward this purpose.

A complex of tasks has been carried out to decontaminate all residential and public buildings, to provide these areas with all of the proper services and amenities, and to build roads and communal projects. This has made it possible to tackle the fundamental problem of ensuring the public's safety from radioactivity.

However, the situation in the zone of contamination from radionuclides still requires close attention. The work of eliminating the after-effects of an accident requires a qualitatively new approach, based upon both annual plans and a carefully drawn-up, comprehensive program. Experience and the scientific prognosis testify to the need for such a plan, which would proceed from the requirements of safe living conditions.

A commission of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro and the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers has been appointed for eliminating the after-effects from the accident at the Chernobyl AES. The commission includes Comrades V.G. Evtukh (chief of the commission), N.I. Dementey and Yu.M. Khusainov (deputy chiefs of the commission), V.I. Goncharik, A.A. Grakhovskiy, A.L. Grishagin, G.Z. Grishchenkov, N.A. Gurinovich, V.F. Kebich, A.T. Kichkaylo, V.A. Kozlov, N.N. Mazay, E.F. Negerish, Yu.M. Pokumeyko, L.I. Plechko, Yu.A. Puplikov, S.P. Rudnevaya, V.V. Savich, A.V. Stepanenko, L.K. Sukhnat, V.S. Ulashchik, A.M., Fomich, and S.P. Yanchuk. Their task is to draw up within two months a project for a comprehensive republic-wide program for 1990—1995 to eliminate within the territory of the republic the after-effects of the accident

at the Chernobyl AES. This plan is to be presented to the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers.

The program should provide for improved medical and sanitation services for the population and see to the organization of agricultural production, all-round construction, the provision of all proper services and amenities in the areas, and decontamination of the areas. The program should also provide for improvements in the organization of trade, public nutrition, provisions for workers, etc.

It has also been deemed expedient to create special subsections in the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, and in the republic's Gosplan and the Gomel and Mogilev oblispolkom. The purpose of these subdivisions is to improve coordination and regulation of the work being carried out to eliminating the after-effects of the Chernobyl accident.

A special group has been formed by the commission to better inform the population and increase the reliability of information on the status of the operations to eliminate the after-effects of the Chernobyl AES accident. This group includes Comrades N.N. Mazay, V.S. Ulashchik, E.F. Sukhorukov, Yu.M. Pokumeyko, Ya.Ya. Alekseychik, G.N. Buravkin, and A.I. Doroshevich.

**Belorussian First Secretary Meets with  
Intellectuals**

*18000976b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 25 Mar 89 p 1*

[BELTA report: "Meeting at the Belorussian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] On March 24 a meeting was held at the Belorussian CP Central Committee between E.E. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee and representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia of the republic. During the meeting there was discussion on carrying out the resolutions of the 10th Plenum of the Belorussian CP Central Committee on further advancement of Belorussian bilingualism: the discussion touched on the course of preparation for the republic's program "Our Native Speech," measures to intensify the work in this direction by organs of people's education, institutions of the Academy of Sciences, mass information and publishers in the republic. Questions discussed included the organization of permanent courses in Belorussian at pedagogical institutes and universities and the publication of dictionaries, self-instruction manuals, and other text books.

Expressing their views on the issues discussed were V.A. Pechennikov, secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee; N.N. Mazay, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers; M.I. Demchuk, Belorussian SSR minister of education; V.P. Platonov, president of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences;

N.S. Gilevich, first secretary of the Belorussian SSR Union of Writers Board; L.K. Sukhnat, V.P. Stavrov, and G.A. Butrim, Belorussian SSR deputy ministers of education, as well as A.I. Podluzhnyy, director of Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Ya. Kolas Institute of Linguistics.

**Meeting of BSSR Komsomol CC Commission to Rehabilitate Komsomol Repression Victims**

*18001028 Minsk ZNAMYA YUNOSTI in Russian  
31 Mar 89 p 1*

[BELTA report: "At the Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee Commission"]

[Text] The first meeting took place of the Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee for rehabilitating Komsomol members repressed during the years of the cult of personality. It was pointed out at the meeting that there was massive repression of Komsomol members and that it occurred in several stages from the end of the 1920's until the beginning of the 1950's. According to a proposal of experts who are a members of the commission, the committee acknowledged that it would be advisable first of all to single out the ones who are notoriously well known. They decided to begin work

with a review of the affairs of Central Committee secretaries who were central figures of the so-called "conspiracies" in the majority of cases. This will help to reveal the names of many Komsomol workers whose fates are still unknown.

The commission members think that the effectiveness of their work depends on the comprehensive assistance of organizations which have archived documents under their control, people of the republic, Veterans of the Komsomol, and all who have preserved the events of those years in their memories, the committee proposes that they send their recollections, letters, and documents in their possession to this address: 40 Karl Marx Street, Minsk, 220030.

The Commission is receiving many letters whose authors are submitting suggestions on its work and expressing their opinions on the rehabilitation process, including negative ones as well. The meeting's participants have arrived at a common conclusion: To prepare surveys of the mail and publish them in the republic's youth newspapers as necessary.

A. Krivdenko, commission chairman and second secretary of the BSSR Komsomol Central Committee, conducted the meeting.



**Journalists' Involvement in Resolving  
Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict Viewed**  
*18300602 Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 3,  
Mar 89 pp 5-8*

[Article by Sofya Dubinskaya, ZHURNALIST special correspondent, Yerevan-Baku: "Difficult Is the Way to the Red Bridge: Story of a Meeting That Did Not Occur"]

[Text] The airplane set a course for Baku. Seated next to me was a huge fellow who was wearing boots, fur cap, and a sweater that was opened on his chest. Peeking out of the sweater was the little face of a sleepy puppy.

"I found it in the zone and I'm taking it home..."

In Armenia the name "zone" is given to the territory through which the earthquake wave passed. My traveling companion, together with comrades of his who are also drivers, had brought trucks there from Tashkent ("traveling under our own steam, across the Caspian on a ferry, it took us five whole days to get there..."). And in the ruins of Spitak he had found the puppy, that was apparently a pure-breed. It had been dirty and helpless, but it was alive, apparently having been whelped a couple of days before the earthquake.

"I'm going to call it Spitak, so that my children will remember where it came from."

The puppy began whining and another passenger, who previously had been apathetically looking out the port-hole, turned around and took a cookie out of her purse. The puppy took the treat, calmed down, and the girl's thin face lighted up in a soft smile.

"It would be nice if all unpleasant situations ended this quickly," she said.

Without my asking her any questions, she continued, without any transition: "I'm going to pick up my things. I was born in Baku and lived there all my life. I love the city... We were lucky—we managed to exchange our apartment for a private home in Yerevan. Others are just leaving..."

"Were people unpleasant to you?" I asked cautiously.

"Not to me personally. They don't want to release us at work, but the supervisor told my father (he's a construction worker and built practically half of Baku), 'It will be difficult without you, but if anything happens, I'm have to answer. So you'd better leave while the going is good.' And a girl friend of mine got a beating in a store—and for what?"

I had just returned from the zone, and I could not get out of my head the words that I had heard many times: there is nothing more terrifying than death, death is irreversible. I wanted to repeat those words aloud, but my fellow

traveler spoke before I had a chance to. She said quietly, "Humiliation is more terrifying than death..."

We rode together from the airport. The driver, guessing that she was a countrywoman of his, asked, "Are you a local resident? An Azerbaijani?"

Blushing in embarrassment, the girl mumbled, "Mixed." I felt a cold chill from that lying. Several times after that I sensed that feeling. When I saw on the broad, pretty streets of Baku handsome boys wearing helmets and bulletproof jackets, and saw tanks. When I walked across Ploshchad Lenin, descending into the pits that had been left from dozens of campfires that had burned during the recent mass nighttime vigils.

But that was me, a visitor. What must be the feeling of a person who had lived in Baku all his life, as he walked along a street at the corner of which, right next to the flower bed, there was a tank? A normal person who had to observe the curfew and leave that street by 2300 hours?

Three days previously I had seen the very same boyish soldiers on the streets of Yerevan, that sunny, "pink" city, and had seen tanks warming up their engines on one of the most beautiful squares in the capital of Armenia. I also wondered about what this was costing the people of Yerevan. It is though you are not at home in your own city, although mentally you understand: the tanks will remain in place and the weapons will not be used. The soldier has the weapon not only to protect himself, but also to protect me, the old woman in the printed kerchief, and the curly-haired schoolchild.

Like a woodpecker's pecking, I hear the question in my brain: how did it happen that we have stopped feeling at home in our own cities? That we have to be defended against an unknown danger?

I asked myself that question a year ago, when I arrived in Azerbaijan and Armenia for the first time. It was springtime and it had begun to smooth over and soften the traces of the February events in and around Nagornyy Karabakh. But their echo could still be heard in every heart. I spoke to the regular correspondents from the central newspapers, with journalists in the editorial office of SOVETSKIY KARABAKH and the Yerevan KOMMUNIST. I visited BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, VYSHKA, and MOLODEZH AZERBAJDZHANA. Sometimes those dialogues were very difficult. Why?

Each person with whom I spoke had a clearly formulated position. No one concealed his convictions. But almost everyone of them, early in the conversation, asked me how I had come to Stepanakert—by way of Yerevan or by way of Baku? Both the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis with whom I spoke had an unshakable conviction of their own rightness, but how that rightness differed from the other one! They also had their own arguments,

which were rather convincing, and also a position of sharp nonacceptance of the arguments from "the other side."

That is why the impressions of the few days of my official assignment remain today in my soul and memory...

A year went by—a year that was very complicated and painful for both republics and for all of us. It was sufficient time to be able more precisely to put one's emphases and evaluate one's actions. Including us journalists. "What did you and I do incorrectly, or fail to do, during that period?" I asked many of my associates in Yerevan and Baku. And even though the previous enthusiasm wasn't there, I did not receive a single identical answer. The retrospective glance at the year of our journalistic activity in emergency conditions threw light on a completely surprising picture: everyone, so to speak, sang in his own key, without being concerned about how his voice sounded in the chorus. This is an inoffensive comparison, since any discord in the chorus probably traumatizes only the listeners' eardrums. Actually, everything was much more terrifying: the discord of the journalists' voices "traumatized" human fates—hundreds of thousands of readers received information that was at times contradictory.

We can talk as much as we want about rabblers, about corrupted clans who benefit from the unrest and the public misfortune—that is holy truth. But, to be frank about it, we too have applied our own hand to all of this. Unlike those who were corrupted without having any material benefit at all.

Let us look at the very first step—the evaluation of the February 1988 events.

Long before February, there was unrest in Nagorny Karabakh. And yet the SOVETSKIY KARABAKH newspaper ignored all the unpleasant situations and the panorama of news on its pages was the typical one for show. The oblast newspaper did not report even in passing that sessions of the soviets of people's deputies had been held in all five rayons and that the decision had been made in four of them to request the transfer of Nagorny Karabakh from Azerbaijan to Armenia. In mid-February the situation became red-hot. On 21 February PRAVDA and the republic newspapers in Azerbaijan printed a tiny little TASS item containing the words: "As a result of the irresponsible appeals made by individual extremists, violations of the public order were provoked."

Yes, the crowd of many thousands of people on the streets of Stepanakert probably did include extremists. But, whether you like it or not, the words in the TASS item were perceived by honest people as an accusation directed also at them.

Let's look the truth in the face: it was precisely then, in February, that we heard the first bell ringing, warning us, so to speak, on the spur of the moment: be more cautious with your words! Information is necessary, but it must be as reliable as possible.

It was then that, for the first time, we came up against the phenomenon that has not given us any rest for an entire year: the information about the events, information which was a blessing for Nagorny Karabakh and that made it possible to return people to their normal way of living, was met in Baku by an explosion of indignation: what kind of news is this supposed to be, people asked. So what if they decide something while attending their sessions—should all of that be printed?

The watershed also ran through the central press. I am not talking about the newspapers' own correspondents—that is a special topic for discussion. But every special correspondent, after the very first published item, immediately received the label "pro-Armenian" or "pro-Azerbaijani." And it was not necessary to apply any efforts for that purpose. An example of this is provided by the battles that broke out in the press concerning Pavel Gutiontov, IZVESTIYA special correspondent in Stepanakert. He is a shrewd journalist, and we have frequently read his insightful articles. But in Nagorny Karabakh Gutiontov was a pure reporter: he walked through enterprises, listened to what people were saying in the square, and, if necessary, expressed his own opinion. And practically every day he transmitted reports to the newspaper from the place where the events were happening. When, after a certain item was published in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, the people in Stepanakert refused to go to work, Gutiontov wrote, "It is awkward to talk about the work that one's associates are doing, but the importance of every word printed in the newspaper today is greater than it has ever been. These words undergo the strictest state acceptance by the readers. Far-reaching conclusions are made on the basis of each of these words. These words throw aroused public opinion from one extreme to another."

You will agree that people could have accepted this prompting. However, in Baku Gutiontov was met by bayonets. BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY prepared an open letter to IZVESTIYA, but did not have time to publish it: the "molodezhka" [young people] began decisively to defend the party newspaper.

A small item entitled "A Person Who Is Standing Straight Does Not Cast a Crooked Shadow" was signed by the pseudonym of Nadzhaf Nadzhafov, "N. Adilogly." Without going into the details, I shall mention what you yourselves can guess: in Azerbaijan Nadzhafov's item was received with unconcealable rap-ture, and in Nagorny Karabakh with the same unconcealable indignation.

Does this mean that these two polar positions are inevitable? That there is no way out?

At that time the "way out" was suggested by one of the responsible workers in the Propaganda Department of CPSU Central Committee, who was on an official assignment to Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagornyy Karabakh. (I am failing to mention his name for two reasons. First, he is currently working in another departments. Secondly, it would seem that it was not only his own opinion that he expressed.) Well, he did not suggest, but, rather, simply announced a ban on the topic of Nagornyy Karabakh and everything that was linked with it. But inasmuch as the events continued to develop, the press began working in unison to pour onto the spreading fire the sweet syrup of words concerning the unshakable friendship of the two nations and to print letters of the type: "My husband is an Armenian, and I myself am an Azerbaijani, and we can live together..." However, for some reason, no one in the area hastened to be touched, and there was no other reaction than irritation.

Let's think about this: at the very height of the events, the newspaper writers proved to be not even on the flank. Rather, they were in the deep rear of the events. And they exerted no influence on the course of those events. When, after each successive outburst, they did start talking, they unfortunately led people in different directions, without listening, without understanding one another. It was as though a glass wall separated many of our associates from the neighboring republics: you could see them gesturing, but you could not make out their words. And you could conjecture anything that you wanted.

But those dialogues (or, to put it more precisely, monologues) are listened to by hundreds of thousands of people on both sides. You can imagine the great price of this lack of understanding. The mass meetings, demonstrations, and harmless marches were followed by terrible events. And the first of them was Sumgait. There is no justification or explanation, and there cannot be any, for the lawlessness and brutality. It will take a long time for the wounds to heal. But if we can be completely frank, we journalists also have some of the blame for this. The misinformation about the brutalities perpetrated by the Armenians in NKAO could be engendered only when there was a lack of reliable information.

Something inconceivable and monstrous happened: people were killing other people. But other people were defending people, and at times nationality did not have any significance. But for some reason I didn't happen to read an item about the exploit of a nurse at a maternity hospital who spread out her arms and stood in the doorway to the ward where new-born infants were sleeping.

"Show us where the Armenians are!" the thugs shouted.

"There are only children here."

They killed that woman, even though she was an Azerbaijani. But what difference does that make! She was a Human Being.

That is the crux of the matter. Can you imagine how much stronger this one incident is than the liters of "syrup" concerning love and friendship? The people with a capital P, who, like that nurse, did not spare themselves, are the ones who should have been written about. By all of us, and especially the journalists in the two republics.

From several of the persons with whom I spoke during my most recent official assignment I heard the statement, "It's easy for you people in Moscow to make judgments, but just try to get embroiled in this mess like we had to." And in one of the editorial offices in the capital I heard, "The regular correspondent of a central newspaper does not have the right to be subjective."

That's right, he or she doesn't. But he is embroiled in the same mess, and involuntarily he is imbued with the atmosphere in which he is living. He is under the powerful influence of public opinion, which, as you realize, is not formulated simply by the press. Add to this the fact that most often that person is a local one, who grew up in that republic, who attended an Armenian or Azerbaijani school, and who attended lessons in history, which, as has been shown by life, also treats many things in various ways. But if, despite all of this, he is able to resist prejudice and maintain his objectivity, that alloy will be priceless.

I was fortunate enough to have meetings with people like that. With some of them I had rather long conversations, but other meetings happened, as the expression goes, on the run. I was also acquainted with associates by their reputation. I had read their articles, essays, and reports, and they had won me over by their literary skills. Each published item revealed clearly the position of the party journalist and the decent, worthy person.

I recall a not too long conversation I had with Irada Velikova, a department chief at the VYSHKA Azerbaijani republic newspaper. From her very first words it became obvious that Irada hates nationalism in all its manifestations. Fearing that she would not be correctly understood by everyone, she nevertheless wrote the essay "Kinsfolk," in which the main hero is a good Armenian family for whom everyone had worked together to build a home after a fire. She edited the letters sent to the editor by Armenians and Azerbaijanis, and their joint message to their countrymen, which was printed in VYSHKA—which was not a formal action, but an impassioned appeal for understanding. In a downcast mood she told me that a close friend of hers was leaving, to go to Armenia. She not not been able to persuade her friend to change her mind...

Karen Zakharyan, an associate of Irada's from the KOMMUNIST republic newspaper in Yerevan, was

born in Nagornyy Karabakh, and for that reason is greatly concerned moved by about everything that is happening there. He was attending school when his father, the chief of one of the administrations of the Nagornyy Karabakh Oblast Ispolkom, was fired with a party reprimand "for displaying nationalistic moods and a departure from party positions": to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of NKAO he had published a statistical collection, the title page of which bore the photograph of the sculpture "We and Our Mountains" and other photographs of monuments of Armenian culture. It would seem that Karen has good reasons for being tendentious. But you will not find in a single one of his published items a disrespectful word directed against a person of another nationality. As is proper for a journalist, he attempts to see in the specific phenomenon not the details but the overall problem and to find a constructive resolution of that problem.

And this also distinguishes the position of Rafael Nagiyev, the deputy editor of the Azerbaijani-language KOMMUNIST newspaper. The first thing that I heard from him was, "It is necessary to do something for people. People cannot continue to live like this any more." The second thing was a story about a sad episode: how a kindred newspaper in Armenian was set in type during the alarming November days. The Armenian typesetters had not come to work, apparently afraid to come out into the street. So an Azerbaijani compositor, who did not know the language, with assistance from editor Emil Grigoryan, worked with the metal to set the type. In the morning the newspaper got to the subscribers on time. As we were saying goodbye, Rafael said, "If we had met our Armenian associations, I think that we could have worked out a joint-actions plan with them. We would have accepted any proposals, we would have added our own—anything to remove the tension in the situation."

Rafael Mamedovich is a person of advanced years. His wisdom, the careful way in which he weighs every word, and the precision of his positions are the consequence of his large amount of experience in journalism. Aram Sarkisyan, the regular PRAVDA correspondent for Armenia, is much younger than Rafael is, but he is distinguished by the same qualities of a human being and a journalist. His pen is restrained, but sometimes it produces a flow of such impassioned writing that it is impossible to read it without being upset. In his creative work he makes his primary concern the utmost reliability and objectivity. His associate, IZVESTIYA correspondent Sergey Bablunyan, is a journalist of a somewhat different kind. He is a master of facts and the details that he has caught sight of by taking an unexpected approach. His reports win the reader over by the simplicity of his writing and by their strictly documentary nature. He does not allow himself to drown reason in his emotions (and one feels that he is an explosive type of person). We met Sergey twice, each time on the run. It is as though he is in a constant search, but that property is not only a journalist's search, but one that is purely humanitarian.

One could observe the same thing in Dzhavanshir Melikov, the SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA regular correspondent in Naku. He is an intellectual, a person who is well-disposed toward himself, and a sharp, well-principled journalist. Everyone recalls his statement about the corrupted groups in Azerbaijan. Later on he was not afraid to confirm his point of view in a statement made at a plenum of the republic's Central Committee. For him the "Karabakh knot" is like an inflamed nerve that is painful to the touch. Whatever we talk about, Dzhavanshir constantly returns to what is, in his opinion, a fabricated problem. I object: even if he considers the beginning to be incorrect, today the situation is much more complicated—thousands of people in both republics refer to themselves by using a wartime word—"refugees." What is to be done with them? He agrees: journalists cannot remain aloof from this problem...

There are two other meetings that I cannot fail to mention—meetings with editors of newspapers for young readers. In their republics, both newspapers are rather popular, but KOMSOMOLETS during the tensest moments occupied a position which, in the opinion of many people, was more moderate than that of MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA.

Georgiy Martirosyan told me only one episode from his life. Every time that MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA printed a statement that seemed to Yerevaners to be debatable, the editorial office would receive piles of letters demanding that a "proper answer" be given. Georgiy explained his own position, and that of the editorial office, as follows: "We did not declare war on the newspaper. But we did provide the most varied information under the rubric 'Crossroads of Opinions.' I am convinced that newspapers ought not to fight. Instead, they should work to have people meet each other halfway, and should expose those who oppose those meetings."

We also met Nadzhaf Nadzhafov when he was still the editor of MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA (currently he heads a department at BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY newspaper). We talked frequently over the telephone. "Why didn't you send correspondents to Stepanakert?" I asked him. "I did not want to subject them to a life of danger..." he answered. He told me how, on the approach to Stepanakert, deputy minister L. Bizyayeva's car had been hit with stones thrown at it. We also talked frequently about other things, and each time, as a rule, it pertained to published items written by the "youth." Every time he had a logical explanation of why a particular report had been printed. But I was the only person who heard this. His colleagues in Armenia and in Nagornyy Karabakh did not hear it. It was the same glass wall...

But if Nadzhaf Nadzhafov could discuss straight out, without any artificial barrier, his doubts, forecasts, and plans to his Armenian colleagues and could listen to

them and become acquainted with their arguments, he would not be the "Adil-ogly" who irritates so many people, but a real live person, who perhaps is to a certain extent misled and impetuous, but an intelligent and interesting person. And Nadzhaf himself would proof-read the statements in his newspaper more accurately, so that they would not play the role of a cigarette brought close to a powder keg.

I am convinced that personal meetings would have nipped in the bud the crossfire on the newspaper pages.

Obviously, I am not the only person to come up with such ideas. There had been the idea of calling together in the editorial office of ZHURNALIST the representatives of the newspapers in Azerbaijan and Armenia and the correspondents from certain central publications. No one had any doubts concerning its usefulness. Other than... G. Gadzhiyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Journalists Union. After the meeting day had already been designated and the journalists had received their travel orders and were getting ready to depart, he suddenly telephoned the editorial office and said, "There won't be any meeting. Ivan Alekseyevich is against it."

Things became apparent quickly: Ivan Alekseyevich Zubkov, first deputy chairman of USSR Journalists Union, was not against the meeting, but against the period when it was being conducted, since it coincided with the day when there would be a plenum of the USSR Journalists Union. But G. Gadzhiyev displayed surprising stubbornness and got responsible workers at Azerbaijan CP Central Committee to "push buttons." He did not get any counterarguments. But it was sort of vague: now is not the time. It would be better to hold the meeting after the election. Why?... And the very night before the journalists were to fly to Moscow, he called around to the newspaper editorial offices and announced that the meeting was being postponed. The only persons whom G. Gadzhiyev did not manage to inform about this were the organizers of the meeting—the editorial office of our newspaper.

I really don't know what motivated the actions of the chairman of the republic Journalists Union. (He himself asserts that he received instructions from the leadership, but he declined to give any specific names). So, at that meeting that did not occur, our colleagues from Armenia and Azerbaijan had planned to speak not only about the past, not only about what they had done wrong or what they had failed to do. Chiefly about how, by our united efforts, we could break down that notorious glass wall that had been erected by persons unknown. And what should we do today and tomorrow to ease the tension in the situation?

Because there is the most urgent need for this—no one has any doubt about it. Tens of thousands of refugees (in the official documents they are called "the population that left the places of permanent residence"), who have lost a roof over their head, their beloved work, their

familiar way of life, who left their ancestors' graves hundreds of kilometers behind. Waves of grief are rolling not only across the trans-Caucasus. One can also encounter refugees today in other republics.

Yuriy Mikhaylovich Ivanov, VYSHKA editor, showed me a very curious letter: "Several times a day we hear on the television and the radio, or read in the newspapers, about the Azerbaijani refugees from Armenia, about the 'Gaygy.' But it is generally known that there also exist refugees from Azerbaijan, particularly from Baku, Kirovabad, Shamkhor, Sheki, and Shemaka. Why isn't anything said or written about them? Why is it that the various 'voices' on the air waves tell us only about Armenian pogroms? Because, hearing only about the refugees from Armenia, the Azerbaijani nation becomes embittered. But such broadcasts, in addition to reports about the 'Gaygy,' can calm our nations that have become involved in a nationalistic hullabaloo."

Doesn't this give us journalists food for thought?

I'll tell you a secret: both our Azerbaijani colleagues and our Armenian ones have a rather large number of recommendations in this area. And they planned to discuss them at the meeting. A person will return to his home if there is a guarantee of normal life and work. And also if there is a guarantee that the honor and dignity of his family will not be offended. How does one guarantee this? There is no computer that can resolve this. Only a genuine, self-interested, and absolutely decent person can do so.

Here are only a few, purely journalistic, versions of those decisions. Report on the trip by a delegation from a village or an enterprise to a neighboring republic to pick up "their own" refugees. A sensitively written story about a family that has returned to its hometown. Materials covering the travels of exchange assignments of Armenian and Azerbaijani journalists to boarding houses and other places where refugees are living. A plan for synchronized actions could be developed from these and other interesting suggestions.

It is a pity that this plan has remained in the heads of the participants of our meeting that did not occur—a plan that was unstated and undiscussed.

Incidentally, there is nothing new in this idea. Many people remember favorably such meetings of journalists on the Red Bridge, on the border of the three republics, where colleagues discussed the problems of the day that are identically of vital importance to all of them. Now would be the right time to resurrect this good tradition. Despite the prideful attitude of individual workers who would seem to be far from the genuine vision of this difficult stage in our life, a vision without any local-interest blinkers.

Party and Komsomol administrators and workers of law-enforcement agencies have meetings. People's controllers in the trans-Caucasian republics and the workers of various departments exchange their opinions. But it appears that it is only journalists who just cannot take the decisive step that brings them closer to the bridge of understanding. The sooner that happens, the better it will be. It would seem that the journalists themselves have been ready for this step for a long time.

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**Leningrad Obkom Evaluates Press Performance**  
*18000838 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 p 1*

[LenTASS report: "In the CPSU Obkom"]

[Text] Having analyzed citizen observations on reports in the mass media on issues pertaining to the relations between nationalities, the CPSU obkom noted that materials recently published in Leningrad newspapers and literary periodicals are conveying a more integral idea of the climate of relations between nationalities and the growth of national self-awareness among the peoples of the USSR. These published pieces are helping to eliminate the stratification and deformations that hamper the genuine fulfillment and creative development of the Leninist principles of nationality policy.

And yet, as has been emphasized in many letters and verbal observations addressed to the CPSU obkom, editorial staffs are not always manifesting a sufficiently principled approach to the materials they publish. As a result, there appear on occasion in the press ill-qualified judgements on issues pertaining to the theory and practice of resolving the nationality question in the USSR, and superficial light is cast upon complex processes in the life of our multinational society. Such pieces found their way into the journal ZVEZDA (G. Murikov, "Memory," No. 12, 1987) and the newspapers LENINGRADSKIY RABOCHIY (the editorial "Finnish Coal" in the issue of 10 June 1988) and SMENA (M. Rutman, "The Lithuanian Motif" in the issue of 7 October 1987).

Individual propositions in the writer Yu. Pompeyev's appeal to Armenian and Azerbaijani writers and to all the citizens of both republics, which was published in the newspaper LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA on 7 December 1988 and his response to adversaries in the issue of 9 December 1988—propositions marked by inaccuracies in the treatment of Lenin's works and related distortions in the interpretation of his views on national policy—prompted a significant number of critical comments from readers. An article by A. Mylnikov, "Emotion and common sense: which prevails?" (LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 24 January 1989) on this same issue did less than it might have to clarify the truth.

Having conducted a critical evaluation of the action taken by publications that have been insufficiently businesslike and objective in their dialogue with readers expressing disagreement with published materials, the CPSU obkom directed the attention of editorial collectives in the mass media and literary periodicals to the particular political import of all materials published on problems of the history, present state and developmental prospects of relations between nationalities in this country.

In order to raise the ideological and theoretical level of such reports, the editorial staffs were advised to draw more extensively on the most authoritative scientific sources. The editorial staffs and Party organizations in newspapers and periodicals and the Leningrad oblgorispolkom's Committee on Television and Radio were enjoined to take measures aimed at improving the professional training and political education of journalist cadres. The attention of editorial staff supervisors was directed toward their personal responsibility for the factual accuracy, balance and ideological direction of materials on this topic.

The CPSU obkom insisted that editorial collectives implement consistently and precisely the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which foresaw the need for a timely and well-argued reaction to citizen observations, for an objective reflection of various points of view on the issue under discussion, and for utilization of the mass media's potential in the consolidation of socialist society.

**Stalin's Daughter Profiled**

18000973 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in  
Russian 20 Apr 89 p 6

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Kolesnik:  
"Stalin's Daughter"]

[Text] In order to understand ourselves, our present and future, we are today peering intensively into the past, into the fate of those who shaped our history. Work is now underway on the creation of a new history of the Great Patriotic War in 10 volumes. Many archives concerning that difficult time, the pre-war and post-war periods, have been opened. Working with them, staffers of the USSR Defense Ministry's Institute of Military History have brought to light many interesting documents. On their basis, also as a result of additional research, Candidate of Historical Sciences Major A. Kolesnik has prepared this article about Stalin's daughter Svetlana Alliluyeva. The whole of the material is being printed in VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL No 4.

Svetlana was born in 1926 and was registered under the surname Stalina. Her childhood was spent on a dacha in Zubalovo, not far from Moscow, in the former home of an oil industrialist from Batumi. From early childhood the girl was surrounded by nannies, governesses, and educators. Her mother was a strict and modest woman. At first she worked in the editorial offices of a journal, then she enrolled in the Industrial Academy. Svetlana's mother lived only six and a half years after Svetlana was born. Just one letter from Nadezhda Alliluyeva to her daughter has been preserved; it was evidently written in 1930 or 1931, and in many ways characterizes the mother:

"Hello, Svetlanochka!

"Vasya wrote to me that my little girl has been very naughty. It is frightfully annoying to get letters like that about my little girl. I thought that I had left behind a girl who was big and reasonable, but now it looks like she is just little, and, more important, does not know how to act grown-up. I beg you, Svetlanochka, to talk to N. K. (the governess, author's note) about how to do things right so that I don't have to get any more letters like that. Be sure to talk to her, and you and Vasya or N. K. write to me concerning how you have come to an agreement. When Mama went away, her little girl promised and promised, but apparently she's not doing much.

"So you be sure to answer me how you intend to act, seriously or some other way. I want you to think like a girl who is already big and knows how to think. Are you reading anything in Russian? I am waiting for my little girl's answer. Mama."

The letters which Svetlana received from her father when he was on vacation are of an entirely different character.

"Little Boss Setanka.

"It looks like you've forgotten your Daddy. That's why you haven't written to him. How's your health? Not ailing, I hope? How are you spending your time? Have you been seeing Lelka? I thought you would soon be sending me my orders, but you haven't sent one. That's not good. You hurt Daddy's feelings. Well, kisses. I await your answer. Daddy."

And here's another:

"Hello, Setanka!

"Thanks for the gifts. Also thanks for the my orders. It looks like you haven't forgotten Daddy. If Vasya and teacher go to Moscow, you stay in Sochi and wait for me. Okay? Kisses. Your Daddy."

Stalin's relations with his daughter are described in some detail by N. S. Khrushchev in his book "Khrushchev Remembers," which was published in England in 1971; he had observed them many times in I. V. Stalin's home. "...Stalin always called her 'Little Boss,' and we also started to call her that. She was always smartly dressed in a Ukrainian skirt and pretty blouse. The girl looked exactly like a dressed-up little doll, but at the same time she very much resembled her mother, with the same dark red hair and tiny freckles. Many people watched 'Little Boss' grow up. I remember that when we arrived, Stalin would usually say, 'Now, Little Boss, entertain our guests.' And she would rush to the kitchen. Stalin would explain, 'When she's mad at me she says, "I'm going into the kitchen and tell cook on you," and I always beg her, "Please take pity. If you tell the cook, I'm doomed." "'

The girl's childhood could not be called happy or trouble-free. On the night of 9 November 1932 her mother shot herself. "The whole thing was that Mama had her own understanding of life and insisted on it," S. Alliluyeva wrote later. "Compromise was not in her character. She belonged to the younger generation of the Revolution—those volunteer workers of the first five-year plans who were dedicated builders of a new life, themselves representatives of the new man who had a pious belief in their new ideals of man liberated by the Revolution from bourgeois ways and all former vices. Mama believed in all this with all the strength of revolutionary idealism, and all around her at that time were many people who affirmed her faith by their behavior. And at one time my father seemed to her to be the highest ideal of the new man among all others. That's how the young girl gymnast saw him, this 'unbending revolutionary' just returned from Siberia, the friend of her parents. That's what he was to her for a long time, but not forever....

"And I think that it was because she was a woman who was intelligent and infinitely righteous inwardly, that she knew in her heart, at long last, that my father was not the

man he had seemed in her youth, and she was stricken by a frightful, devastating disillusionment."

After that, Svetlana spent her time living in the Kremlin. Stalin kept track of his daughter's schoolwork, inquired into her doings almost every day, and regularly signed her report card. He was happy with his daughter. She did well in school. Her teachers noticed that she had a bent for literature. Before she finished school, her literature teacher even wrote a letter to I. V. Stalin suggesting the advisability of majoring in philology in college. Svetlana wanted that too.

Her father was displeased: "So you want to be a literary person; you're attracted to that Bohemia! Those people are so uneducated, and you want to be one.... No, I want you to get a good education, perhaps in history. You need to know the history of society; literature is also necessary. Learn history, and then take up whatever you please."

Stalin insisted that Svetlana enroll in the History Department of Moscow State University, where she began her studies in 1943. Her leaning toward philology was accepted by her father, and she enrolled in graduate studies in the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences. On graduation she received the candidate of philological sciences degree.

Here is a fragment from her memoirs, in which she assesses the tragic period of our history: "What people they were! Such dedicated, full-blooded characters who carried so much romantic idealism with them into the grave, these fighting knights of the Revolution, its troubadours, its victims, its dazzled heroes, its martyrs...."

"But those who desired to rise above it, who desired to speed its course and see today the results of the future, who strove for the Good using the means and methods of Evil in order to spin the wheel of Time and Progress faster and faster—did they achieve it? The judgment of history is severe. It is still deliberating as to who was a hero for the sake of Good and who acted for the sake of vainglory and vanity. Not for me to judge; I do not have the right. All I have is my conscience. And my conscience tells me that if you cannot see the beam in your own eye you should not point out the mote in your neighbor's eye! We are all responsible for everything.

"Let those who come later judge, those who grew up not knowing the years which we knew. Let young, vigorous people come for whom all those years will represent a kind of reign of Iosif the Terrible, a period just as remote and just as incomprehensible, just as strange and frightening...."

"It is unlikely they will call our time 'progressive'; it is unlikely they will say it was 'for the good of Great Rus'.... It is hardly likely...."

The death of her father introduced adjustments into Svetlana's life. From all appearances she suffered greatly from the revelations of Stalin's crimes, and, like her mother, she was stricken by a tragic disillusionment.

She did not attend the funeral of her brother Vasiliy in Kazan in 1962, evidently because of her poor health. In Moscow she appealed to K. Ye. Voroshilov and A. I. Mikoyan for permission to bury her brother in the Novodevichye Cemetery next to her mother, but the request was denied.

Svetlana's life did not go very well. At the age of 17 she had become infatuated with 39-year-old Aleksei Yakovlevich Kapler. Her father found out about it.

"I know everything," he said. "Your Kapler is a British spy."

"But I love him!" his daughter answered.

"You love him?!" her father shouted these words with unbelievable fury.

Svetlana received two slaps in the face—the first in her life, as she recalls.

"Look, Nanny, what this girl has come to!" Stalin could not restrain himself. "There's a war going on, and she's busy..." Here he uttered some crude, peasant words.

Kapler spent 10 years in prison....

While in college, Svetlana married G. I. Morozov, the son of the commercial director of a perfume factory in Moscow. Grigoriy had been a classmate of her brother Vasiliy. He had been in their home, and it was only natural that she would be captivated by this handsome, capable, intelligent man.

Like many of the relatives of I. V. Stalin, the father of Svetlana's first husband was also arrested on fabricated charges and kept in prison for six years, right up until 1953. And the pretext for this was the charge that he had allegedly changed his name from Moroz to Morozov.

The strangest thing was her turn to religion.

This turn to God, evidently, reflected changes in the assessment of moral values taking place in her consciousness. Looking at what she wrote during that period, we can see rather clearly certain signs of religiosity: "And when I die, let them lay me to rest in the earth here at Romashkovo, in the cemetery, near the station on the hill. It's spacious there, everything is visible, the fields all around, the sky.... And the fine old church on the hill—it is not operational, of course, and it is dilapidated, but the trees in the grove next to it have grown so vigorously, and it stands so gloriously immersed all in green, and it still continues to serve the Eternal Good on Earth."



But what was behind her move to leave the USSR, to abandon everything and everyone, even her friends and dear ones? Here is her official version: "...my defection in 1967 was not due to political but to human motives." She went to India in order to accompany the ashes of a man very close to her, an Indian journalist, to his final resting place.

During those years, and even yet, many rumors and bits of gossip were circulating about her personal life. Most of them, probably, were groundless, generated primarily by the lack of reliable information. On this topic N. S. Khrushchev wrote: "I always found it unpleasant to hear rumors about Svetlana's bad behavior and marital infidelity. For a long time she lived alone, without a husband. That cannot be considered normal. She had two children, a son from her first husband and a daughter from the younger Zhdanov. The revelations concerning the abuses of power committed by Stalin were one more terrible blow to her."

Back home, Svetlana's defection from the USSR was marked by stripping her of her citizenship. Abroad, however, the most prestigious organs of the press devoted their pages to her. A "new American best-seller" was born, and its author became famous along with it. In an obvious attempt to build up the new idol, the newspaper FRANCE-SOIR offered revelations concerning "Svetlana's tragic romances." The newspaper L'HUMANITE DIMANCHE commented on her first actions abroad as follows: "And so, S. Alliluyeva's life has been put on display for the mob. There can be no doubt that certain transatlantic journalists who are not troubled by twinges of conscience and are not overly diffident will add even more of what they call 'spice.'"

The French journalist Henri Bordage hit "right on the mark," so to speak. He forecast Svetlana's life for the next 20 years, quite accurately for the most part. The magazine version of her "memoirs" was sold to the Hamburg weekly SPIEGEL for 480,000 marks. Svetlana's life abroad was happy at first. In the USSR, according to her niece Nadezhda, her father had left her a total of 30,000 rubles.

A rather interesting question comes to mind. How did the manuscript come to be abroad? And a whole set of photographs with it? Was her move made on impulse or was it premeditated? It may be that the answer could at least partly lift the veil of mystery not only from "Twenty Letters to a Friend" but also her second book.... It is hardly likely that the manuscript was intended for publication in the USSR, during that period at any rate. The author was in an ambiguous position. On the one hand, the manuscript presents an attempt, in the spirit of toppling the cult of personality, to condemn the enormous atrocities of the period of Stalin's repressions. This was stated in 1963. On the other hand, from 1964 on, right up until the author left the country in 1967, a period of cover-up and quiet justification of Stalinism began. As a writer, Svetlana obviously faced a choice:

doom her book to oblivion or take a fateful step which might reveal quite a different page in her biography. To a great many, she was Stalin's daughter, and attention to her person, despite her uncommon abilities, was the diametric opposite to what she wanted. So it looks as if the manuscript did not come to be abroad by accident. Now let us try to imagine a situation in which the author publishes the manuscript abroad while living in the USSR.... From the examples of B. Pasternak and even N. S. Khrushchev, the former CPSU Central Committee First Secretary, we know how that would end. S. Alliluyeva could also probably figure that out.

To a large extent this is also confirmed by the fact that she tried to do active writing abroad, to take up photography and languages. An analysis of her activities and life after 1967 shows that she succeeded in some things but by no means in all. In all likelihood, this is what led her, many years later, to declare, "My life abroad has gradually lost all meaning. My intention was not to get rich but to live among writers, artists, and intellectuals. But nothing has come of it."

There were many in her homeland who tried to justify her and put themselves in her position. N. S. Khrushchev assessed her with astonishing humaneness:

"Her flight to the West was a wrongful act that has no justification. But there is another aspect to all this. She really did make a stupid move, but people also treated Svetlanka stupidly and insultingly. After her husband was buried she evidently went to our embassy in Delhi. The Soviet ambassador to India at that time was Benediktov; I knew him. He was a man of exceptionally strict views. Svetlanka told him she wanted to stay in India a few months, but Benediktov advised her to return immediately to the Soviet Union. It was stupid on his part. When a Soviet ambassador recommends that a Soviet citizen return home immediately, it causes that person to become suspicious. Svetlanka was all too aware of the practice. Such a tactic is offensive, humiliating, and tends to unbalance even a person of stable character, but Svetlanka did not have a stable character. Her book shows that. Unable to restrain herself, she turned for help to the authorities of other countries. Her defection should be blamed partly on those people who applied police measures instead of showing tact and respect to a citizen of the Soviet Motherland."

"America's high society saw Stalin's daughter Svetlana's joyously beaming face for the first time in 1967 when she arrived in the United States. This elegant, cheerful, 41-year-old woman with curly red hair, rosy cheeks, bashful blue eyes, and attractive smile seemed to glow with a sense of goodness and sincerity. At the same time, she also appeared to be enjoying her fame thanks to the phenomenal success of her first book, "Twenty Letters to a Friend," which brought her 1.5 million dollars. Admirers began to send flowers, letters, all kinds of gifts, and even marriage proposals to her home in Pripketok [Princeton], New Jersey. People began to court her in social

and even business circles, and not without success," SPIEGEL wrote in May of 1985 in an article titled "My Father Would Have Shot Me."

The same magazine reported that soon after, she received an invitation from the widow of Wright, the architect; this woman, whose maiden name was Lazoyevich, had come from Soviet Georgia. Three weeks after arriving there, Svetlana married W. W. Peters, the chief architect at Tanzimet-Vest [Taliesin West]. On 21 May 1971 this union produced a daughter, Olga, who became a citizen of the United States in 1978. The marriage with Peters did not last long. It was annulled in 1972.

Svetlana then lived in several cities of California and New Jersey and, the last year prior to her return to the USSR, in England. In 1984 another book of her memoirs was published in India. Titled "Distant Sounds," it was assessed abroad as being "ferociously anti-Soviet." S. Alliluyeva herself had this to say: "Neither the Americans nor the British wanted to publish my third book about my unhappy American experiences and disappointments. It was finally published this summer in India, in a very small number of copies." That same year she sent a letter to her son in the USSR and told him of her intention to return to her homeland. On 10 November 1984, Svetlana Peters applied to the Soviet embassy.

Here is a summary of her life as she herself recounts it: "Having wound up in the 'free world,' I was not free there a single day. I was in the hands of businessmen, lawyers, politicians, and publishers who turned my father's and my own life into a sensational commodity.

"During those years I became the CIA's favorite trained dog. They even went so far as to tell me what I must write and how. It would be totally impossible to continue to idealize the United States today. I know many people who are prevented from returning home only by the fear of possible punishment. I am speaking of people who, like me, were stupefied by the ideals of pseudodemocracy.

"The decision to return occurred to me several times. The first time was three years ago, when I went to see N. Mikhalkov's remarkable film "Oblomov." I nearly went to the consulate right then. The next time was when we were living in England, and the victory of Soviet troops in Europe was being celebrated. I could hardly believe that during the celebrations they would ignore the 20 million ordinary Soviet soldiers who gave their lives for that victory. It was such an incredible injustice that I sensed at that moment which people I really belonged to.

"The final straw that made me decide, in September, was the illness of my son and the absence of news from my daughter, who lives on Kamchatka. She is a geophysicist and volcanologist. I simply could not stand this separation any longer, so I wrote my request. The decision to return lifted the sense of guilt that had tormented me all those years. I feel happy—I have come home."

Returning to her homeland after an absence of almost 18 years, Svetlana was surprised at the warm treatment and good will of her countrymen. She found a Moscow that had changed beyond recognition. Her school and university friends and acquaintances telephoned her. She was happy meeting her relatives. In an interview she said, "I beg you all to understand that I have returned to the city where I was born almost 59 years ago. Here is my school, my university, here are my friends, children, and grandchildren. I am home at last. What more do you want? What more can I explain? I have been received with generosity, with a good will that I hardly expected. My request for citizenship was quickly granted. We have been received like the prodigal son in biblical times. I can only say that I am infinitely grateful!

"I intend to live the same quiet, private life that I lived during my first 40 years in Moscow. Personal advertisement has never been my goal. And I am happy that this society does not have the habit of putting private family lives on display. As a member of this society I am not obligated to answer the questions of foreign journalists. I am doing you a favor, and this is the last time. Please do not follow me on the streets or accost me at my door. After this meeting let us leave each other alone and go about our business, you and I."

In Moscow she lived in a hotel; she refused a four-room apartment on Tolstoy Street, explaining that she did not want to have a lot of housekeeping to do. Soon she moved to Tbilisi, explaining that she was used to living in small towns far from the bustle of the capital city. In Georgia, as in Moscow, she was accepted with great understanding. She settled down in a two-room, improved-type apartment, was provided with monetary support, special provisions [spetsialnoye obespecheniye], and the right to call for a state vehicle to make trips. She had her 60th birthday in Georgia, and it was celebrated on the premises of her father's museum. Her daughter went to school and took up equestrian sports. Nevertheless, Svetlana was still not happy there. She began to lash out in rage at her daughter and her acquaintances; she created scenes.

Svetlana began to write letters complaining about many of her friends and relatives. Having lived less than two years in the Soviet Union, she sent a letter to the CPSU Central Committee asking for permission to leave the USSR. The motive she gave was the lack of understanding with her children. Moscow granted the request immediately, and she left her homeland a second time but retained dual citizenship—Soviet and American.

The present author asked three people to share their impressions with him about S. Alliluyeva; they are her nephew Ye. Ya. Dzhugashvili, her niece N. V. Stalina, and her son I. G. Alliluyev. Here is what Candidate of Military Sciences Colonel Ye. Ya. Dzhugashvili wrote in his letter to the author: "The first thing that dismayed and surprised me and made me apprehensive was the fact that S. Alliluyeva did not want to see her son Iosif

and his wife in my home, where I had invited her to supper. She had some insulting things to say about them in my home. When I told Iosif about it he said, 'You should have read her letter to my superior. She demands that I be expelled from the party and stripped of my academic degree. What's most ridiculous is her demand that after all those indignities I be exiled to Sakhalin!'

"Despite her rather modest manner of dress, I am convinced that she always thought she was a queen; she was always giving orders, and she repeatedly offended her daughter. Workers in the museum at Gori were witnesses to her habit of giving imperious orders and demanding special attention to her person.

"As she left Tbilisi she declared that she was 'tired of living among wild animals.'"

On a flight from Tbilisi to Moscow she described the future of Stalin's family this way to a staffer of the Georgian museum: All the grandchildren should in time move to Georgia and gather around Olya (her daughter from abroad).

When I met her at the Sovetskaya Hotel (I had brought flowers, candy, and Georgian wine) I invited her to dinner in a restaurant. She refused. I thought that she would set a table there in the apartment. But, alas, all she did was get a half-empty bottle of champagne out of the refrigerator; that, obviously, was hospitality Western-style.

On Moscow's orders, all the necessary living conditions were provided for her in Georgia, and a car with the license plate GAZ-24 stood waiting in the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers garage to serve her. At the hippodrome there was a horse designated for her daughter to ride. Teachers came to their home to teach her daughter Russian and Georgian—free of charge, of course.

S. Alliluyeva's behavior is unpredictable.

On 9 December 1988, this author telephoned I. G. Alliluyev at home to ask some questions about his mother.

"I find it very difficult to talk about her," said her son. "Until she returned to the USSR I had not heard anything about her for almost 17 years. In 1983 I got a letter in which she asked me to help her return home. She was in difficult circumstances, she said, and if she did not return her life would be meaningless. I telephoned her in London. It was not an easy thing for me to do. She had been stripped of Soviet citizenship, and times then were completely different from what they are now. Nevertheless, I tried to understand her, to help her. She arrived here in November 1984. Had I been looking forward to that moment? Of course. When she came to our house we tried to do everything to make her feel at home. Everything she had left in my house after leaving the USSR was waiting for her in baskets. I told her about the photographs and three portraits waiting for her at the

dacha. At first she was totally uninterested. After a while, however, she began to do things which to my mind did not fit. She insulted my wife and, as my mother, thereby caused me considerable mental anguish. After she moved to Georgia she demanded, through the Georgian Council of Ministers, that I return her portrait to her. To this day I can't understand why she didn't do this in a more civil manner. If she came back to the USSR to gather materials for a new book or to improve her material situation, it does not do her honor. She was received well in the USSR. But the attention and concern that were given to her—a good apartment, special provisions, and money besides—failed to enable her to understand the life of the Soviet people. She simply did not understand it, and given her character it is hardly likely that she ever will. After a while she sent a letter from Tbilisi addressed to M. S. Gorbachev, requesting permission to leave the USSR. There were no problems. Without even knowing my line of work, she cast doubt on my qualifications as a physician and the extent of my training as a scientist. I had to give an account of myself in party organs on the basis of her complaint. She had evidently lost her sense of time." Quite similar to this assessment is that of N. V. Stalina, S. Alliluyeva's niece:

"As a mother myself who is bringing up a daughter, I cannot understand Alliluyeva. By failing to return to the USSR, she in effect abandoned her children to fate. Before she left the USSR the rumors about her were that she was an exceptionally modest person. But those were only rumors. I myself remember very well that wherever she appeared people would immediately start saying, 'Stalin's daughter.' That impressed her. But the modesty of her behavior in her memoirs, and her moral-ethical aspects, were just for show. When she used to visit my home, after she returned to the USSR, I noticed a particular detail. She was most interested in the family life of her relatives. Was it successful or not? I think this is because of her deep loneliness. She has not found a life's companion to go through hardships with her and, when necessary, shield her. She has made a few attempts to emphasize her considerable abilities. She even offered to buy me a leather coat. But I learned the value of money very well at an early age, and even now my family lives on my actor husband's salary; it is too small for me to accept gifts like that from others. She asked me and my cousin Galina Yakovlevna Dzhugashvili to take a summer vacation on the seashore. I declined, and Galina later told me about the terrible scenes Svetlana made on vacation. For her it is nothing to insult people. She also behaved badly at the airport in front of hundreds of people, when some friends of mine were giving me gifts of fruit. This is a person who combines the astonishing ability to write beautifully and to do everything quite differently in real life...."

Be that as it may, and whatever stands behind S. I. Alliluyeva's decision to go abroad again, one thing is clear: She has not perceived the new situation that is developing in the Soviet Union and, evidently, does not see a place for herself here. After she left the USSR she settled in England.

### Legal Procedures For Registering Religious Organizations Explained

18001033 Moscow SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA in Russian No 8, Apr 89 p 25

[Unsigned article: "Law and Religion"]

[Text] The Council for Religious Affairs, under USSR Council of Ministers, receives a large number of letters from groups of believers concerning the registration of religious societies. Of the entire number of letters, they constitute more than 70 percent. Here are a few of them. The residents of the village of Velikoretskoye, Kirov Oblast, write: "For the joint satisfaction of our religious needs, we, a group of 22 citizens who belong to the Russian Orthodox Church, wish to form a religious society"; "We, believers in the city of Spas-Klepiki, Ryazan Oblast, have made several requests to our ispolkom to transfer to us the church building which is under the jurisdiction of the technicum. But no steps have been taken so far. We earnestly request that you register our religious community and transfer one of the churches to us."

We have asked V. Melnikov, candidate of legal sciences, to discuss the method of registering a religious association.

Most believers satisfy their religious needs by uniting into religious societies or groups of believers, which can begin operating only after a decision has been made about registering them by the Council for Religious Affairs, under USSR Council of Ministers. The making of such a decision is preceded by a definite procedure for forming them, which is regulated in various normative acts, primarily the 8 April 1929 decree of VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] and RSFSR SNK [Council of People's Commissars], entitled "Religious Associations," with amendments and additions made by the 23 June 1975 Ukase of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA RSFSR No 27, 1975, Article 572).

In conformity with Article 5, the founders of a religion society consisting of no fewer than 20 persons send an official request for the registering of the society and the opening of a house of prayer (church, mosque, synagogue, etc.) to the ispolkom of the rayon or city soviet of people's deputies. In order to register a group of believers, an official request signed by all the believers belonging to that group is also provided to the ispolkom of the rayon or city soviet of people's deputies (Article 6). The ispolkom sends the believers' requests that it has received, together with its own findings, to the council of ministers of the autonomous republic, or the ispolkom of the kray, oblast, city (cities of Moscow and Leningrad) soviet of people's deputies. Upon receiving the materials concealing the registration of the society or group of believers, those agencies, within the period of one month, consider them and, with their own statements,

send them for authorization to the Council for Religious Affairs, under USSR Council of Ministers (Article 7), after which the Council for Religious Affairs, having considered the registration materials that have been received, makes the decision to register, or to refuse to register, the religious society or group of believers, and reports its decision to them.

It would seem that the procedure for forming religious societies and groups of believers has been regulated with sufficient clarity and completeness. Nevertheless, definite difficulties at times arise when requesting the registration of such associations. In this regard, K. Kharchev, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, under USSR Council of Ministers, said in an interview, "...Some soviet and public workers have made the attempt to prettify the religious situation, by preventing the registration of associations of believers. The administrative zeal, creating the illusion that all is well in their rayon or oblast, not only failed to conceal the true state of affairs, but caused harm to the citizen and to his moral and, if you will, philosophical education. The strong-willed pressure gave rise to conflicts that were repeatedly reported in our press, especially during recent year" (NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 11, 1987, p 23).

It should be noted that such anomalies, as a rule, were accompanied by the violation of socialist legality. There is no doubt that the Council for Religious Affairs, "learning about each such violation, attempts to correct the situation." But additional measures are needed to prevent them. Some of them should be expected from the work of improving the legislation that is in effect concerning religious associations, which work is being carried out at the present time.

Among the violations of socialist legality that have occurred, situations that are rather widespread are the instances of the unjustifiably prolonged consideration by the ispolkoms of the rayon and city soviets of people's deputies of the believers' requests to register their societies or groups. The fact of the matter is that in the decree of VTsIK and RSFSR SNK, entitled "Religious Associations," which is in effect in the present-day edition, the deadline for considering the registration materials (believers' requests, findings and statements by local soviets) is established only for the ispolkoms of the kray and city (Moscow and Leningrad) soviets of people's deputies, and also the councils of ministers of the ASSR's. That deadline is one month. For the other administrative levels, special deadlines not not been established.

Inasmuch as a special deadline for considering believers' requests to register a society or group has not been established, when considering or resolving statements containing a request for the registration of a religious association, it is necessary to be guided by the principles stated in the 12 April 1968 Ukase of the Presidium of the

USSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "Procedure for Considering Citizens' Recommendations, Statements, and Complaints," with the amendments and changes made to it.

In Part 1 of Article 9 of that Ukase, it is established that statements and complaints at all agencies are resolved within a period of up to one month, and those that do not require any additional study or verification, immediately, but in no instance later than 15 days after the day of receipt. According to Article 7 of the Ukase, officials are required to report to the citizens concerning the decisions that were made with regard to their statements.

When considering a statement from believers, the ispolkoms of the rayon and city soviets of people's deputies at the present time do not have the right to make a decision to register, or refuse to register, a religious society or group of believers. As was previously stated, this is the competency of the Council for Religious Affairs, under USSR Council of Ministers.

It is another matter if the statement does not meet the demands that are made of it. As defined in Part 3 of Article 1 of the Ukase of the Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "Procedure for Considering Citizens' Recommendations, Statements, and Complaints," the citizen's written request must be signed by him, with an indication of his last name, first name, and patronymic, and must contain, in addition to a statement concerning the substance of the recommendation, statement, or complaint, information concerning the citizen's place of residence, work, or education. A request that does not contain this information is considered to be anonymous and is not considered.

Inasmuch as a statement concerning the registration of a religious society or group of believers must contain the expressed will of all the founders of the group of believers and no fewer than 20 founders of the religious society (Articles 5 and 6 of the decree of VTsIK and RSFSR SNK, entitled "Religious Associations"), their joint statement must contain all the previously enumerated information with respect to each of the founders. Otherwise the statement may not be subject to consideration.

If one compares the procedure for registering a religious society or group of believers with the procedure that existed during the effective period of the decree of VTsIK and RSFSR SNK, entitled "Religious Associations" in its first edited version, at the present time it is rather cumbersome. For example, initially the religious society of believers could begin operating after it had been registered in the administrative department (division or unit) of the local ispolkom or city soviet, in the volost executive committee or the city soviet of a city that was not the administrative center of a rayon or uyezd.

The reform of the political system of our society, which reform presupposes the resurrection of the complete powers of the soviets of people's deputies in the full sense of people's and authoritative entities, obviously, will find its manifestation in the legislation governing religious associations and will have a corresponding effect on the powers exercised by state agencies in the procedure of registering religious associations, which procedure must be simplified.

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### **Metropolitan Vladimir on Church Activities in Last Year**

18000939 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
30 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Vladimir, the Metropolitan of Russia and Novocherkassk, by Correspondent R. Armejev: "State and Church: A Year of Accord"]

[Text] A year has passed since General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev met with Pimen, the Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia, and members of the Russian Orthodox Synod. It was stated at the meeting that we are fully restoring leninist principles in the attitude to religion, the church and believers. The attitude toward the church and believers should be determined by the need to strengthen the unity of all workers and of our entire nation. We share a common history, a common Fatherland and a common future.

How have the relations progressed in the past year? And how is the Russian Orthodox Church, the subject that until recently has been taboo for our press? Has it been affected by changes under way in our society? Our correspondent put these question to Vladimir, the Metropolitan of Russia and Novocherkassk, the Exarch of Western Europe, the manager of the Moscow Patriarchy and a member of the Russian Orthodox Synod; he too was present at the Kremlin meeting.

[Vladimir] The meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and His Holiness Patriarch Pimen and members of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church will be, in my opinion, an important milestone in the history of our church and of our entire state. It is probably the first time that the attitude of the government and the state toward the church has been spelled out clearly and precisely. I am convinced that it serves the cause of our state's unity, introduces liberating clarity and helps improve relations between believers and non-believers.

In the course of perestroyka, and especially during the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia, people have been able to get extensive information in the press and on television and discover not only negative aspects of the church but its more positive

features as well; they could also appreciate the fact that the church, while it has been separated from the state, could never be separated from the society, since members of the congregation remain Soviet people and citizens of their own country. This idea is supported by the fact that His Holiness the Patriarch and two members of church hierarchy have been elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

That meeting was useful for our foreign contacts as well. Mikhail Sergeyevich highly praised our activities on behalf of peace. New political thinking helps both church and state in our international endeavors, to achieve mutual understanding and cooperation and in our struggle for peace and for elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons.

[Armejev] The newspaper report noted that Synod members raised a number of specific issues which should help the Orthodox Church function normally. Could you tell us what they were?

[Vladimir] Many issues were raised at the meeting, the most important being, in our opinion, that of registering and opening new parishes, especially those that had previously been closed by administrative decrees. As a result, 1,700 new parishes have been reopened since then. This process goes on, and I think it will continue. We get active assistance from the authorities in this area, in particular from the Council on Religious Affairs.

The newly opened parishes need priests, singers and choir directors. Currently, there are four religious schools: in Smolensk, Minsk, Kishinev and Stavropol. At a recent Synod meeting we decided to open another seminary, in Zharovitsy, Minsk Oblast, where there used to be one in the past. The question of opening seminaries in Kiev and other cities is being considered. The number of students at church choir director courses is growing.

We also discussed the issue of new convents and monasteries. These problems are gradually being solved.

[Armejev] Please tell us more about the cathedral whose foundation was laid in Moscow during the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia. Nothing has been heard of it lately.

[Vladimir] The last meeting of the Holy Synod approved the program and rules of the open competition for the design of the Temple dedicated to the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia. They will be published very soon. The competition will be in two stages. The participation is open to individual USSR citizens as well as to official collectives. The first stage will take place May 1 to November 1, 1989, and the second February 1 to June 1, 1990. Eight best designs will receive a R5,000 prize each. The second stage will have only one prize of R10,000. It will be a large cathedral with the capacity of up to 10,000 people. Please, give your readers the address where to send contributions: Housing and Social

Services Bank, Leninskiy Rayon Branch, Moscow, account No.701716, c/o the Fund for the Construction of the Temple Dedicated to the 1,000th Anniversary of Christianity in Russia.

[Armejev] The church has long been on full self-financing. Pardon me for my pedestrian question, but how does the church earn its money?

[Vladimir] The church lives off voluntary contributions. We earn income by performing services as well as from the Moscow Patriarchy's religious articles plant which manufactures candles, icons and everything else necessary for the congregation. In some commercial activities we still lack skills and experience. We are trying our hand at some enterprises; we shall see what comes out of it.

[Armejev] Can you tell us how many active members are there in the Russian Orthodox Church?

[Vladimir] Neither church nor state keep such tally. We have other data, however. It is known that adults and children, when baptized, are anointed with holy myrrh, which is a special holy aromatic oil. We have calculated how much myrrh each baptized person uses and how much myrrh the Patriarchy disbursed between 1971 and 1988. The number we obtained was announced at the latest Council: during that period, over 30 million people were baptized.

[Armejev] I am holding the first issue of the newspaper TSEKOVNIY VESTNIK. What kind of publication is it?

[Vladimir] This is the publication of the Moscow Patriarchy. It is, by the way, the fruit of last year's talks in the Kremlin, where we raised the issue of church press and religious publications. We do not have our own printing shop yet and we have to place orders with state printers who are already running above capacity.

[Armejev] Can we say that the church has entered a period of perestroyka?

[Vladimir] We have turned fully toward the congregation and in many areas we have, in my opinion, anticipated the impending state law on freedom of conscience.

[Armejev] What do you mean?

[Vladimir] Let us take charity and philanthropy which, I must admit, have become alien concepts in our society and, which is far worse, in the church, as well. We have grown complacent: once the state has undertaken to provide for the people's social needs, we no longer were supposed to have any lonely, sick, abandoned or needy people. Yet, when we took a closer look, we saw that not everything was going well. We have already been admitted into hospitals, nursing homes and orphanages. But we also need to teach people how to be charitable. Some believers, when they came face to face with reality and

with this difficult—and therefore much more important—service to humanity, could not take it and had to leave. Many have the desire but lack the skills and patience. We believe that charity as sentiment and deeds will return to the people, since our people are naturally cordial and kind.

[Armejev] Does the church accept the concept of glasnost? I have recently read about the daily routine of Pope John Paul II: he gets up at 5:30 a.m. and loves skiing and long boating trips. Yet, nothing is known about the life of Pimen, the Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia, and of other high-ranking clergymen.

[Vladimir] What, details about the life of his Holiness the Patriarch? But I do not think that anyone has ever expressed any interest in them. There are no secrets here.

[Armejev] Yet, to judge by the sign several women are holding at the entrance to the Patriarchy, you too are facing additional troubles.

[Vladimir] Did you read that sign? People want Archbishop Vladimir to be sent back from Pskov to Krasnodar. The Synod reviewed their request. We spoke to Vladimir, the Archbishop of Pskov, and Isidor, the Archbishop of Krasnodar. The Archbishop of Pskov wrote His Holiness the Patriarch a letter stating that he had no reason to request a transfer to another diocese and condemned the tactics used by that group as unchurchlike and unacceptable. Archbishop Vladimir met with the petitioners. We have letters from the Krasnodar Diocese supporting Archbishop Isidor. The Synod finally reached the following decision: "In accordance with the Church Canon, we call upon the petitioners to obey their church superiors and their decision and to comply in order to preserve peace and proper order in the church." All this has been explained to those three women but their vigil continues.

[Armejev] Tell us what other issues the Synod considered at its April meeting?

[Vladimir] We considered personnel issues. Synod commissions were set up to continue to study issues related to canonization of new saints and to collect and study documents belonging to repressed churchmen and ordinary believers. To be sure, we did not keep any such archives. We mostly collect letters and accounts by relatives, family and witnesses. Later, we will petition legal authorities to rehabilitate those who have not yet been rehabilitated.

[Armejev] Thank you for the interview. What would you like to say in conclusion?

[Vladimir] We live at an interesting and complex time. It is a time of change for the better; it is always extremely important, but especially now, for all of us to maintain standards appropriate for human beings. I want to repeat

the words of His Holiness Patriarch Pimen at the Kremlin meeting: the church aspires to educate believers morally, fostering human dignity, strengthening the sanctity of the family hearth and exhorting them to be conscientious and work honestly for the benefit of their neighbors and of our entire society. We, church people, ardently pray—especially during the Holy Easter Holiday—for the success of the beneficial process that is under way in our country and are doing everything possible to help it.

**Peoples' Deputy Candidate Metropolitan Aleksiy Discusses Platform**  
*18000703 Tallinn SOVESTSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 3*

[Article by S. Smirnov, chairman of the Estonian Cultural Fund's Center for Russian Culture and the agent for a candidate for peoples' deputy: "Towards a Moral Renewal of Society"]

[Text] There are candidates for people's deputies to the USSR, for which you and I, the esteemed electorate, will not have the opportunity to vote, on 26 March, the day of the elections. These are people, who are trusted by the social organizations and the trade unions and creative unions. And the decision concerning their election will be made at the expanded plenums and conferences of the respective organizations and unions. Such a procedure was sanctioned for the first time in our electoral history by the law governing elections of peoples' deputies to the USSR.

The Leningrad and Novgorod Metropolitan Aleksiy, who manages the Tallinn and Estonian eparchy, has been registered as a candidate for peoples' deputy to the USSR from the public organization—the Soviet Fund for Charity and Health. Metropolitan Aleksiy suggested that the journalist Stanislav Smirnov, who for many years has dealt with questions of church life in the press, should be his agent. In accordance with the law, which provides for access to the mass media for the purpose of conducting an election campaign, today SOVESTSKAYA ESTONIYA is familiarizing its readers with the platform of the candidate for peoples' deputy.

First a few words about the candidate for peoples' deputy. In February 1929, Metropolitan Aleksiy (Aleksey Mikhaylovich Ridiger) was born in Tallinn. He recently celebrated his sixtieth birthday. He studied at a secondary school in Tallinn, then at Leningrad's ecclesiastical educational institutions, and was a priest at a number of Estonia's Russian Orthodox parishes. He became a bishop. His episcopate is in its 28th year. For 25 years his service was linked to administrative activities, first in the post of assistant chairman of the Moscow patriarch's department of external church relations and later in the post of business manager for the Moscow patriarch. With his appointment to the Leningrad subfaculty, Metropolitan Aleksiy had more opportunities to devote himself to pastoral activities. However, his worries did not diminish. The urgent problems of the four



eparchies entrusted to his control, the patriarch's parishes in Finland, the ecclesiastical educational institutions with a department of foreign students, and the management of the Leningrad branch of the Moscow patriarch's department of external church relations, of which he is chairman, take up a great deal of time. The existence of the Pyukhtitskiy Assumption convent with all of its problems is also an object of his constant attention.

As a permanent member of the Russian Orthodox Church's Holy Synod Metropolitan Aleksiy participates in all of its meetings, which are dedicated to the most important issues in the existence of the church. For 25 years he has been the president, and in recent years also the chairman of the presidium and consultative committee for the Conference of European Churches (KYEts), which unites 120 churches in Europe. Metropolitan Aleksiy is a member of the Soviet peace fund's board of directors; vice president of the Society for Soviet-Indian friendship; a member of the public commission of the Soviet committee for the defense of peace through connections with religious circles, which speak out in favor of peace; a member of the Rodina Society, a member of the Estonian republic's committee for the defense of peace, a member of the board of directors of the Estonian republic's society for friendship and cultural ties with foreign countries, and a member of the Estonian cultural fund's board of directors.

In his election platform Metropolitan Aleksiy, if he is elected as a peoples' deputy, plans to continually strive for the humanization of Soviet laws and State programs; to take a very active part in the resolution of issues, in a way which would correspond to the interests of the whole nation, concerning freedom of conscience and the ethnic problems based on the principle of equality between all nationalities and their languages and cultures; to strive to ensure the maintenance of moral and physical health and organizational care for every age group of the population, who are in need of it. Metropolitan Aleksiy intends to use his standing as a peoples' deputy to foster an honest and conscientious attitude toward work as one of man's highest moral obligations.

Using his experience of many years working in various international religious, peacemaking, and social organizations, Metropolitan Aleksiy plans to use his standing as a peoples' deputy in the struggle for new humane relations between the governments and peoples of different countries, for a normalization of international relations, for disarmament, and for rapprochement and mutual understanding between all the peoples of the world, energetically exploiting the possibilities that are coming to light during interreligious cooperation.

**Some commentary on the election platform—from a discussion of individual aspects of the program with the candidate for peoples' deputy:**

[Smirnov] Metropolitan, the very fact that a clergyman has been nominated as a candidate for peoples' deputy to

the USSR is evidence of the profound changes in our society. How do you feel about everything that is taking place?

[Aleksiy] Just like everyone else, who cares about the future of our country, I am deeply convinced of the need for radical reforms in all aspects of our life, although I am aware of the fact that it is immeasurably more difficult to reorganize than to start over anew. Moreover, I am convinced that the reorganization of the social and economic structures and the spheres of culture and public health care must be based on the restructuring of interpersonal relations; on the repudiation of the urge to subjugate, repress, and exploit in any form; and on the struggle against egoism in the broadest sense of the word.

[Smirnov] What do you, a faithful Christian, think the mission of Christian dogma should be in the process of renewing our society?

[Aleksiy] The essence of Christian dogma is profoundly moral, therefore a real rebirth of our society seems impossible to me without the Christian element in it. Take a look around: people have never been so spiritually alienated from one another and they have never been so indifferent to one another as they are in our modern world, where man receives an unprecedented amount of information about the life of his fellowmen in all corners of the globe via the most diverse technical channels and communication systems. Christian morality is also called upon to become that powerful remedy which will allow us to overcome human dissociation and spiritual alienation, thereby rallying us to unite as brothers and sisters in the building of a happy future for ourselves and our descendants.

[Smirnov] You were nominated from the Soviet Fund for Charity and Health. What does the concept "charity" mean to you?

[Aleksiy] For me, Jesus Christ's appeal, which was resounded approximately two thousand years ago, to be charitable to all people, without exception, is the immutable moral law. It is my deepest conviction that only charity can ensure a proper understanding of that which is truly evil; can suggest the correct ways to combat evil and serve as a reliable guarantee against turning the struggle against evil into a cloak for the concealment of selfish personal or group interests. Charity organically includes concern for people's health. And it is extremely important to do everything possible in this area so that the people of our generation and the future generation will be not only physically healthy, but even more importantly morally healthy. We have been convinced over and over again that a person, whose morals have been shaken, is ruining the physical health—both his own and that of his relatives.

[Smirnov] I know that several years ago, in the press and in public speeches you raised questions of environmental protection; the subject of ecology also resounded at a



recent session of the presidium of the Conference of European Churches (KYEts), which you presided over...

[Aleksiy] Today, an ever increasing number of people, both our fellow countrymen and citizens of foreign countries are uneasy about the condition of the surrounding environment. But there still is a large number of people, who are worried about the fate of the environment, but do not understand how closely this fate is linked with people's moral health. You see, a disdainful, rapacious, and egoistical attitude toward the soil, forests, and minerals is a direct result of the unhealthy condition of the human soul, when a person thinks neither about those, with whom he is currently living, nor about future generations. The deformation of our society's culture causes many people, including myself, an equal amount of anxiety. There are good reasons for this anxiety: the surrounding environment, which has been deformed by man, whether it be the cultural or natural environment, in turn, has a pernicious influence on man.

[Smirnov] The aforementioned is far from a complete list of platform propositions and problems, which trouble Metropolitan Aleksiy, candidate for peoples' deputy to the USSR, and with which he approaches the forthcoming elections in March. In conclusion, as the agent for the candidate for peoples' deputy, I would like to report that the philanthropic spiritual music concert, which is scheduled for 1 March in the Estonia concert hall and which was organized by the Estonian Cultural Fund's Center for Russian Culture, will take place within the framework of Metropolitan Aleksiy's election campaign. This will not be a pre-election meeting in our usual understanding of the term, but a concert by the Tallinn Aleksandr Nevskiy Cathedral Choir and a combined choir from Leningrad ecclesiastical schools and from collectives, which were established at the temple and educational institutions that are closely linked to the life and activities of the candidate for peoples' deputy (which, incidentally, is also provided for by the law governing elections, where it is noted that meetings can be held in any other format that is suitable to the voters.

**Candidate for USSR Peoples' Deputy Patriarch Pimen Interviewed**  
*18000656 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 1*

[Interview with Moscow Patriarch Pimen, by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Correspondent Viktor Khatuntsev: "Renewal and Traditions, The Eternal and the Present"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Khatuntsev] The Law on Elections provides for the nomination of religious leaders by social agencies in addition to other persons as candidates for USSR peoples' deputies. What do you think is responsible for this innovation in Soviet legislation on elections?

[Pimen] This is the first time in the postrevolutionary period that religious leaders are given the opportunity to

be elected to serve in organs of state authority. This event must also be considered revolutionary among the major reforms that have come about in the country after April of 1985. I feel that this innovation is a natural consequence of the all-inclusive renewal process affecting all of our people - the creation of a socialist law-abiding state. We look upon it as proof of improvement of state-Church relations. We believe that participation of religious leaders in elective organs of authority will promote perestroika and render a positive influence on the strengthening of unity in our multinational country.

Political reform, democratization, and glasnost are being implemented in the interests of all the people. This includes citizens who are believers. A vital requirement of the times is accelerated economic and social development of the country. In addition, the highly important problem of moral renewal of society's life is being dealt with, and the dignity of the individual is finding respect. A worthy place in the creation of this is held by the Church, which, although far removed from the state, is still an inseparable part of our society, daily providing moral education for the flock by teaching the individual believer to be a worthy person, good family person, and honest worker. The Church blesses and strengthens in believers noble love for the Fatherland to the point of self-sacrifice, an elevated feeling of life-giving community, brotherhood between peoples of our country, and respect for all nations of the earth, for all peoples, our brothers and sisters, who are all God's children.

We derive a deep sense of satisfaction from the fact that there is a realization of the significance of the Russian Orthodox Church's ancient role of forming the moral structure of society; from the acknowledgement of the valuable contribution our Church has made to the development of many aspects of the national and state life of the Fatherland in the 1,000 years that have passed since Russia's baptism; and from the growing conviction of the goodness of its further service to our great Motherland. In speaking of the Russian Orthodox Church, I naturally have a high regard for the spiritual potential of other churches and religious associations that exist in our country, in which each believer can discover his God-given capabilities without reservation and live as a worthy person - the jewel of Creation.

[Khatuntsev] How do you envision your personally participating in the activity of the higher organ of Soviet power if you are elected to serve as USSR peoples' deputy?

[Pimen] First and foremost, I would like to say that I was deeply moved by my nomination as USSR peoples' deputy candidate on the part of the plenum participants of the Soviet Peace Committee and the Association for the United Nations in the USSR. I see this as proof of the value of patriotic and peacemaking service rendered by the Russian Orthodox Church to which I hope to contribute as much as I can.

If I will be rendered the honor of becoming a USSR peoples' deputy, I will strive to work for beneficial renewal and development of the life of our country, normalization of international relations, deliverance of mankind from the plight of nuclear and other deadly weapons, and protection of the integrity of creation. I am convinced that the implementation of this program, which is intended for all our people, is intimately connected with the moral state of society in general and of each of its members. I intend to apply myself to problems of spiritual enrichment of society; humanization of personal, family, labor, and social life; service in mercy and solidarity between peoples; and other problems of like urgency, the resolution of which will determine the progress our Fatherland will make.

I do realize that the success of a people's deputy's activity bears a direct relationship to the nature of his ties to the voters. I will strive to be responsive to the needs of those who vote for me and render them the necessary assistance and support for the sake of our beloved Fatherland.

[Khatuntsev] Perestroyka and believers; renewal and traditions; the eternal and the present. Which social renewal processes seem to be the most important and spiritually uplifting?

[Pimen] Believers are justifiably highly enthusiastic in their acceptance of perestroyka. This was expressed by the heads and representatives of church and religious associations of our country during the traditional meeting held at the Trinity - St. Sergius Monastery in December of 1987. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke of the contribution made by citizens to the implementation of the plans for the country's social and economic acceleration, development of democracy and glasnost, and complete restoration of Leninist principles of the relationship toward religion, the Church, and believers, in his reception for the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia and members of the Holy Synod in the Kremlin on 29 April 1988. At this meeting I offered Mikhail Sergeyevich full support for perestroyka in the name of the episcopate, the clergy, the monkhood, and laymen of our Church - citizens of the Soviet Union. The Epistle addressed to the clergy and flock read at our anniversary Pomesnny Synod held in June of last year at the Trinity - St. Sergius Monastery, stated: "We warmly embrace the perestroyka process, which has as its purpose the rectification of the negative consequences of the past and assurance that our society will benefit as much as possible from spiritual, social, economic, and political areas of life. This beneficial process also affects the life of churches and religious associations." The Pomesnny Synod appealed to all of its faithful children to do all they can to assure the irreversibility of vitally important social reforms taking place in our country.

We indeed have experienced fundamental changes in the position held by religion. As applied to the Russian Orthodox Church, this was expressed in the substantial

assistance rendered by the government in the preparations for celebrating the Millennium of Christianity in Russia; the transfer of a number of monasteries to the Church, including a part of the Kiev-Pecherskaya Monastery, the first monastic abode in Rus, which is associated with many outstanding events of our history; the registration of more than 800 Orthodox communities last year; facilitation of construction of new churches; and the resolution of a number of other problems that are important to normal functioning of the Church.

Especially important for the Church is the newly opened possibility to renew its mission of mercy. This vital area of the Church's activity will be the object of our attention and concern. We will do all we can to develop this activity.

We are highly pleased by the fact that churches and religious associations as represented by their prominent leaders are now able to participate in implementing the programs of the Soviet Cultural Foundation, Children's Fund imeni V.I. Lenin, Soviet Charity and Health Fund, and other social organizations. We are also pleased that religious leaders' participation in the work of mass information media has increased significantly. This enables our community to receive timely and accurate information on the more important acts taking place in the life of churches and religious associations.

Regarding the questions of renewal and traditions posed by you, let me go back to my answer to the first question, where I spoke of the deep significance the Church attaches to the process of all-inclusive renewal of the life of society and each of its members. We consider these two aspects of the process to be intimately connected. In this regard, renewal in no way precludes adherence to good traditions. The continuation and augmentation of the spiritual and cultural values of the social and cultural heritage enrich the life of society and endow it with inner stability and integrity.

The eternal and the present. The word "eternal" as applied to historic time should be understood to pertain to spiritual values involving religion and culture. They are eternal, for they in all times nurture man's soul and humanize his life. Hence the importance for the present and future Fatherland of the current appeal to spiritual values, of acknowledgement of our great cultural heritage.

I already spoke of that which I find deeply moving at this time of radical change. I can add to that the exceedingly powerful social and political activity of our people that has been stirred in the process of perestroyka, a process that I believe is the key to our successfully achieving moral normalization and true progress for society.

I have no doubt that especially important at this time is the formation of capable organs of state authority that are truly responsible to the people. The fate of our Motherland largely depends on this difficult - as we

know - process. I believe that the children of the Russian Orthodox Church - our fellow citizens - will live up to the highest standards of their civic duty and do all they can to successfully accomplish this most fundamental task.

Above I had the opportunity to list the specific tasks facing the Church at the present time. Their accomplishment determines the Church's position and role in the life of society. However, the success of this service depends on the extent to which each of us, members of the Church, exhibits God-commanded meaningful love for our neighbor, who is any person with which we come into contact, especially a fellow countryman.

May the Lord grant us the strength to be worthy of our ancestors in our service for the good of our earthly Fatherland!

**Believers Conduct Hunger Strike in Protest Against Authorities**

18000784a Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 14, 8-14 Apr 89 p 8

[Response by A. Kudryavtsev, department chief of the RSFSR Council of Ministers' Religious Affairs Council]

[Text] Western radio broadcasters have repeatedly transmitted information about a hunger strike by four believers in Ivanovo. Can you tell me just what all occurred?

[Signed] M. Nefedov, Zagorsk.

An ARGUMENT I FAKTY correspondent asked A. Kudryavtsev, department chief of the RSFSR Council of Ministers' Religious Affairs Council to respond to this question.

Yes, indeed, in Ivanovo, a dispute arose between the local organs of authority and a group of believers, who are demanding the transfer to the registered religious community of the building of the Vvedenskaya Church, where the Gosarkhiv [state archives] resources have been located since 1937. The four women believers "have reinforced" their demand with a hunger strike which was begun on March 21st [1989].

The city's second Orthodox community (there are three in all), of which these believers are members, was registered by the USSR Council of Ministers' Council for Religious Affairs in November of last year, although the local organs of authority were against this. At the same time, the council recommending that the question of the transfer to the community of the vacant building of the Vvedenskaya Church be solved. The city's leadership did not agree with this, which also gave rise to the sharp conflict. Now all the women are in the hospital. The doctors have concluded that the state of their health is satisfactory.

In our opinion, the believers chose the incorrect path to champion their own interests, both from the civil and the

ecclesiastical points of view. The council figures that, in a state based on law, questions of the regulation of state-church relations must be solved by legal means, without tolerating, at the same time, violation of the principles of freedom of conscience and social justice. It seems that the oblast leadership and the believers will show some sense and will find a mutually acceptable solution.

With regards to the fact that there is allegedly occurring a departure from state policy with respect to religion and the church, it should be stated that there are no grounds whatsoever for such assertions.

At the present time, the elaboration is being completed of the draft of the USSR's new legislation on freedom of conscience, which will make it possible to eliminate such negative facts.

**People's Deputy Metropolitan Pitirim on Capital Punishment, Other Issues**

18000784b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with Pitirim, metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yuryevets and USSR people's deputy, by I. Smirnova, Leningrad: "I Believe in Good: Our Interlocutor is USSR People's Deputy Metropolitan Pitirim"; date of interview not given]

[Text] The fact that the work day of Pitirim, metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yuryevets and USSR people's deputy, ends very late is something of which I have personally been convinced. He was able to give the interview only after midnight, when his meeting with the electors in the Leningrad Actor's House had ended. (This was still prior to the elections).

Metropolitan Pitirim (in the secular world—Konstantin Vladimirovich Nechayev), professor of Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy and honorary member of foreign theology departments, doctor of theology, and chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate's Publishing Department, is a member of the board of the Soviet Cultural Foundation. They call him "the flying metropolitan": it is difficult to catch him in Moscow. The circle of his peacemaking, charitable, scholarly and social activities is extensive. A philosopher and a musician, a publicist and a historian, Metropolitan Pitirim was one of the sponsors of the establishment of the Academy of World Civilizations and the celebration of Slavic Culture holidays. His word is authoritative not just for believers. It is sufficient to say that he is taking specific steps for the revival of the Russian village. He is collaborating with the union republic agroindustrial associations and foreign firms and participating in the establishment of orchestras for both church and stage music...

The history of the Nechayev family is a 300-years-long history of service to the church. The family's ancestors were missionaries in the Tambov region. Metropolitan

Pitirim's father, Archpriest Nechayev, died in 1937, having suffered from the Stalinist repressions.

[Smirnova] Reverend Pitirim, my first question: are you now talking with me as a person or as a servant of the church?

[Pitirim] As a person who lives within the church. The dichotomy about which you were speaking is now pathology.

[Smirnova] Today, old questions are arising to confront us all over again. Very urgent, for example, is the theme of confession and its accompanying question, which is tormenting and dividing us: the trial of Stalin and Stalinism—is it necessary and is it feasible?

[Pitirim] A difficult question... Of course, a trial is quite in order. Society, the specialists, each of us has the right to give our own judgement. But who is to judge? Let us recall Dostoyevskiy: all are guilty in everything and each is guilty in everything. And, therefore, in principle, yes, a trial is necessary, but, for all practical purposes, humanity is so imperfect to be taking upon itself the role of judge that a trial may be wrong and it may be conjunctural. For a Christian, there is the radical commandment: judge not and you will not be judged. For the historian and for the law and jurisprudence, a trial is obligatory, but this trial must be taken up with the corresponding internal spiritual righteousness.

[Smirnova] Recently, television viewers of the program "Public Opinion" were shocked by how many of our fellow citizens were ready to become hangmen. To the interviewer's direct question: "Would you be prepared to carry out a death sentence?" the overwhelming majority of those gathered in front of the television camera answered: "Yes." Does this problem disturb you?

[Pitirim] It is very disturbing because evil, just like goodness, is capable of being built up. And evil is not just a moral category, but also a social one. From just the single internal state of a person, a whole chain of phenomena is born, which change from moral to social, from social to political and from political to economic. And thus, a system of evil is created.

[Smirnova] What do you think, what can now, when social relations in society are strained, teach people tolerance?

[Pitirim] Time. Time and work.

[Smirnova] At meetings of the Pamyat Society, I had occasion to hear that mixed marriages are supposedly a crime against the Russian genetic stock. Slogans are being promoted of the type "Russian teachers for Russian institutes" and the like. At the same time, they are using the symbols of the church, frequently declaring

their devotion to the Russian Orthodox Church. To what extent can these people consider themselves to be orthodox christians?

[Pitirim] Russian culture has always belonged to all. The church teaches quite specifically: there is neither Greek nor Jew, but rather Christ is in all. No one deprives a person of any descent of the right to join the Orthodox Church, if they so desire, and the Russian Church has never been an ethnic sect. "Holy Russia" is a concept that is not geographical, but rather, spiritual and it is no accident that the West is expecting a revival of spirituality precisely of Russia. With regards to mixed marriages, there is by no means any lesser number of talented people born in them, while the question of the purity of the blood stinks of racism.

However, I know too little about Pamyat to be able to judge to what extent these people are devoted to the church. It is possible to consider oneself an orthodox christian and calmly get along with all one's own sins. And, conversely, it is possible to not belong formally to a church, yet be a person with a very sensitive conscience.

[Smirnova] However, it is impossible to deny that quite a few problems have accumulated in Russian culture and that it is in need of protection and development. What here especially disturbs you?

[Pitirim] The ecology of the soul—this is what today, along with the ecology of nature and culture, is especially important. I often reiterate that the Soviet Cultural Foundation is not just a matter of memorials and relics, it is also a human foundation. Our main treasure is man, who must be helped not only to survive, but also to remain a human being. Indeed, our many problems, including the ecological ones as well, are the direct result of human immorality. We are now establishing by biotechnical analysis methods that nature is experiencing torments and the trees are feeling pain and so on. And, in contrast to this, the ancient monastic way of life, even, supposedly, is not necessarily monastic, but rather, the natural life of the primitive people who, instead of destroying nature, made use of it, but did so sensibly.

[Smirnova] This also brings up a question: what is to be considered sensible? How, in your opinion, is one to accomplish one's own choice under the conditions of pluralism, to what should preference be given?

[Pitirim] The apostle, Paul, said it beautifully: everything has been permitted to me, but not everything is of benefit. Everything belongs to me, but nothing should be possessed by me. Be above one's own weaknesses. The basis of selection should be the values common to all humanity and an alternative should always be decided in their favor.

[Smirnova] There is a question which is customarily considered naive, but I would call it perpetual. What is your opinion, Reverend Pitirim, what is a miracle?

[Pitirim] The entire world—this is a miracle. The origin of life—what is this, if not a miracle? Death—what is this, if not a miracle? And each day lived by a person, is this not a miracle? And, alongside of this, there are the extraordinary miracles. There is our deceased sister who lay motionless for 40 years, the last time we walked with her in 1948, sitting down after every few steps: she was afflicted with a terrible polyarthritis. Prior to the end of her life, she was fuller of the joy of living than we, the walking, and she tied our family together—spiritually and intellectually, sharing all our concerns.

People often ask miracles of God, which they do not, in actual fact, need...

*For the first time, three church leaders have been nominated to our country's highest organ of authority.*

*We have begun to understand that, in a world where everything is interrelated, it is much more constructive to seek in the activities of the church that which unites us rather than that which divides us...*

#### **Reader Advocates Religious Instruction for Children**

18110089b Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 30 Mar 89 p 2

[Reader letter, published under the heading "Dialogue at a Distance," by Nadiya Hundert, Sokal, Lvov Oblast: "Religion in the Home?"]

[Text] Sirs! I recently read an article in your newspaper by ethnographer V. Skurativsky entitled "Lessons at My Father's Knee." I agree with the author that children should be brought up in family, local traditions. They should be taught to love their father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, sister and brother, their home, their yard, their street and village, and their fellow villagers. They should be taught to love their language, the songs and faith of their parents, and everything connected with them.

I mentioned faith, because what is a people without faith? Today, as a consequence of an atheistic upbringing, we are knee-deep in alcoholics, drug addicts, other chemically-dependent individuals, loafers, bums, criminals, savages, uncouths, dullards, cruel and frightful juveniles who commit crimes for the fun of it. These are people who were brought up by non-believer parents and an atheistic society. Christians lived with religion for 1000 years and provided us with a rich heritage, which we have succeeded in destroying without fire or flood. We have destroyed monuments of antiquity in our cities, towns, and villages. We have destroyed our history, having forgotten that instructive folk saying: "He who does not know and does not respect his past is not worthy

of the future." Our ancestors believed, and their faith ennobled them. Why should we not remember that the site chosen for a new home was consecrated, as was the foundation and the first stone or beam. Every step was taken with God, with one's faith, with fear of something great and mighty. And this taught parents wisdom and patience in bringing up their children. And the children in turn grew up as modest and obedient individuals. In the past the oldest person in the family directed a family which sometimes numbered as many as 20 persons, and everybody lived in harmony. Today a family contains two or three persons, and they cannot live in harmony. Why are we afraid to speak the truth about the role of the church in the history of mankind? One should speak out about the erroneous attitude toward church and religion. If we are going to restructure ourselves, then it should encompass all aspects of our lives, particularly where the soul and consciousness of our future—our children—are formed. Let us not endeavor to ensure that our children become Communists, atheists, party officials or party-unaffiliated executives or managers. But let us endeavor to ensure that they are kind, modest, and intelligent individuals, sensitive to all things. This is taught by the church and religion. And it would be a very good thing if, in restructuring the school curriculum, the education specialists included teaching of religion in our schools. More churches should be opened in our cities, towns and villages, and our children should be taught church choral singing. Let us return faith and church to the people and let us pass it on as a legacy to our offspring, and this will solve other problems connected with the upbringing of our children.

#### **Boom in 'Quasi-Religious' Youth Groups Discussed**

18000956a Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 31 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by A. Bondarenko: "Rebirth of Faith or Change of Idols"]

[Excerpts]

#### **Our Commentary:**

The reemergence and growth of interest toward religion among young people is in a large measure a negative reaction to the indiscriminate rejection of religion by vulgar atheism and pointless knocking down of the subject of criticism, from physical destruction of temples to wholesale condemnation of religious philosophers and writers as ignorami and obscurantists.

As a result, a distorted view of religion is superimposed on the lack of general classical culture and uncritical thinking. The spiritual and philosophical content is forgotten and the emphasis is placed on the circumstantial cult aspects of religion. Form is then filled with a different content: national, political, mystical, etc.

This is the origin of various quasi-religious movements: home churches with their own preachers, various unions such as the Christian Patriotic Union which held its first congress in Moscow in January of 1988, the Union of Religious Socialists, neochristian youth groups such as the born again and burgeoning pseudo-Christian movements such as "Lord's Children", "Unification Church", etc.

Eastern and European mysticism have also become widespread. In Moscow alone, more than 10 religious mystics' groups are known, including anthroposophic, theosophic and pseudo-eastern cults. Typically, quasi-religiously oriented groups spring up in the ambiance of the so-called unofficial youth movement, including such groups as "Cosmos", "Peace Watch", "Common Cause Federation", etc.

The hippie ideology is thoroughly permeated with occult and mystical elements.

For some young people, traditional religions are an anachronism, especially since studying several thousand years of spiritual legacy requires a certain intellectual and spiritual effort, for which young people's consciousness is not prepared, formed as it is at the level of mass culture which has filled a certain cultural niche in society. Nontraditional religions are different. Some of them are a form of religious kitsch. They offer a ready-made, easily digestible good for spiritual consumption. This may be why they are so popular: the simpler the prescription for happiness, the readier the philistines to grab for it.

#### Activities of Soviet Krishnas Described

18000956b Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
31 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Sergey Zuyev, member of the managing council of the Moscow Hari Krishna Commune, by Correspondent A. Frolov: "We are Vayshnavas"]

[Text] Perestroyka in all areas of life has helped us see and understand much of what has until recently been hidden from the public eye. One of such phenomena is the Hari Krishna movement. Now, adherents to this religious movement cannot complain of the lack of attention on the part of the Soviet and even foreign press. At the end of February a group of 60 Soviet Krishnas went on a 2-month visit to India for the first time. Before their departure, I spoke with Sergey Zuyev, a member of the managing council of the Moscow Hari Krishna Community.

[Frolov] Sergey, tell us please about the Krishna movement in the Soviet Union, its history and current state.

[Zuyev] First of all, I want to say that we do not use the term Krishna, which was introduced by journalists, but prefer to call ourselves either Krishna's devotees or vayshnavas.

The Moscow community has existed for 15 years. The impetus for its creation was the 1971 visit by Shrila Prabhupada, who came to the USSR on the invitation of Soviet scholars studying the spiritual culture of the East. At the time, Shrila Prabhupada was already widely known thanks to his translations and works on Indian spiritual culture.

Although the visit turned out to be very brief, he met with a group of young people studying his works. The first Soviet citizen admitted to the cult by Shrila Prabhupada was Anatoliy Pinyayev. Since then, the number of vayshnavas in this country has been growing rather rapidly.

The first vayshnava community was registered in Moscow. In addition, we have communities in Tallinn, Riga, Leningrad, Tbilisi and Kiev, and some 10 other communities have applied for registration.

I want to point out that Hari Krishna's ideas are not essentially new or fashionable but are rooted in ancient Indian culture and its spiritual tenets which have been mostly forgotten. We are trying to revive them and to make them comprehensible to the modern man who is far removed from a spiritual approach to life.

[Frolov] What is the Moscow community like? How is it structured?

[Zuyev] Currently the community has more than 800 devotees. The first meetings elected a 3-men council. Its functions include making sure that the group's charter is adhered to, protecting cult property, accounting for funds, etc. We also have an auditing commission to supervise and control the community's finances. In time we will probably have the publishing and international departments.

[Frolov] What is the source of the community's income?

[Zuyev] It comes primarily from voluntary contributions, sale of spiritual books and religious articles. We make our own religious articles. We have many skilled artisans, artists and sculptors, who have found their calling in this activity.

[Frolov] And what about books?

[Zuyev] Since our community was registered relatively late, we missed the deadline for publishers' plans for 1989-90. We have submitted requests to publish three books by Shrila Prabhupada in a Russian translation. In addition, we get spiritual books from vayshnava centers abroad, with some of those books going to the Council on Religious Affairs.

[Frolov] What is the attitude toward you on the part of the public and in the press?

[Zuyev] I want to say that for many years the press, television and other mass media presented the vayshnavas in a negative light. They used old tired labels such as "CIA agents," "tricks of imperialist intelligence services," etc. Most articles were based on reprints from the Western press, whereas our journalists and scholars did not bother to use the sources available in this country or to talk to believers themselves.

[Frolov] Western journalists have a rather negative attitude toward your movement.

[Zuyev] In the West, there are different points of view on this subject, but our journalists for some reason chose only negative ones.

[Frolov] Has anything changed after the community has been registered?

[Zuyev] So far things seem to be well. However, we still lack our own prayer hall, and we have not been able to achieve any progress in this area yet. Unfortunately, some other decisions passed by the Council on Religious Affairs at the time of our registration have not been carried out either. But in any case I can say that a significant change has taken place in the public mind with respect to their attitude toward vayshnavas.

[Frolov] Does the Moscow community have its own publication?

[Zuyev] We have something like that, a handwritten publication titled MIR CHAYTANYI. As to a full-fledged publication, it will be very difficult to get one published. We hope to soon start publishing a newsletter to inform the public about the life of the Moscow and other communities.

[Frolov] And now tell us please about your impending trip to India.

[Zuyev] Indian temples sent us an invitation to bring a 60-member delegation this March to participate in worldwide vayshnava festivities called Gaura Purnim in the city of Maipur and to visit holy sites. Traditionally, hundreds of thousands take part in these festivities. If successful, this visit will become an important sign of international recognition for the vayshnava movement in the Soviet Union. It is very important to us: we are currently unable to communicate with believers abroad because our spiritual authorities, who live abroad, can not visit the Soviet Union. This is the result of the fact that the community lacks a prayer hall. For us, communication is indispensable since it increases spiritual awareness.

[Frolov] Do you maintain contacts with unofficial groups?

[Zuyev] At one time we were also called an unofficial group. But it is fundamentally wrong. Hari Krishna is a

spiritual and not a political or social movement, even though we have some things in common with unofficial groups. For instance, we advocate establishing "glasnost tribunals" in all major cities modeled on London's Hyde Park, where people could freely express their opinions.

[Frolov] Do you engage in charity?

[Zuyev] We do. For instance, after the natural disaster in Armenia, some 30 members of our Yerevan community went to the disaster area. The Moscow community contributed approximately R5,000 and donations came from other cities as well.

[Frolov] What are your community's plans for the future?

[Zuyev] Currently, the new law on religious cults is being drafted and we would like to see it restore the leninist principles in the state's attitude toward religion and spiritual organizations, as formulated in the 1918 text: freedom of religious and antireligious propaganda. We want to see believers given unrestricted right to preach their faith and publish their literature. We have been promised time on the "Voice of Motherland" radio program broadcasting abroad. We would also like to open several cooperatives, including a cafe serving vegetarian dishes: until recently, there were no vegetarian restaurants in the entire country.

### **Young Believers' Involvement in Social, Political Activities Profiled**

*18000956c Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
31 Mar 89 p 3*

[Interview with N.D. Kufakova, senior research scientist, Moscow State University Philosophy Department, by A. Komrakov: "Who Are You with, Believer?"]

[Text] "Get your documents ready. We have nominated you CPSU candidate member," the party committee secretary of a Moscow school told a young teacher. "You are a smart fellow. The collective respects you and the kids love you. So we are starting to process your case."

"Thank you but I can not," replied Igor. "I believe in God."

The news about this dialogue spread through the school with telegraphic speed. Some said that in our country there is freedom of conscience. Others were indignant: what is this priest doing teaching our kids? they asked. And indeed, what a believer could teach a young soul? We must at the very least make sure that he is a Soviet believer.

We asked N.D. Kufakova, senior research scientist, Moscow State University's Philosophy Department, to answer this question.

[Kufakova] As long as we have mentioned young believers, let us see who studies at theological seminaries. To prepare its personnel, the Russian Orthodox Church alone has three high school-level seminaries: in Moscow, where 3 classes enter each year totaling 90 students, in Leningrad and Odessa, where 2 classes enter totaling some 60 students. Two higher education institutions, Moscow and Leningrad academies, train highly qualified clerics and have between 15 and 30 students per year. Other churches have similar educational institutions.

Who are those students? To be sure, they include deeply religious individuals raised from early childhood in the spirit of religion, but there are also others who found religion after losing their own moral ideals. Among them there are some former komsomol members.

At times we do not realize that by assuming the role of orthodox communists we lose our tender heart and interest in the fate of young people. Isolation in the collective and anger, coupled with the lack of firm world-view, can sometimes lead to a break with the collective and discovery of new moral ideals, which may be found in religion. These people get comfort there, instruction what to do with their lives and help in discovering their calling in such areas as care for the sick, work in icon painting, restoration and other shops, publishing or translation work.

[Komrakov] According to one opinion, involvement with religion means rejection of social and public activities.

[Kufakova] This is an outmoded view. Take for instance peace-making, a very important duty of believers and especially of priests. What is it if not an extremely important area of public activity? At the regional meeting of young Christians from socialist countries, Metropolitan Filaret in his welcoming address noted: "From you, young Christians, we expect great deeds directed toward strengthening peace." The international religious peace organization "Religion and Peace World Conference" devotes an important place in its work to the religious youth movement.

[Komrakov] In other words, church ideologists are now trying to influence young people both by traditional means and by really immersing them into the life of society, is it not so?

[Kufakova] It is true. Along with exhortations, sermons and prayer, peace marches, trips to religious centers in this country and abroad, making films about the church, participation in international shows, anti-war rallies and work in non-religious organizations have also become commonplace.

Church representatives are members of the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Peace Fund, the Soviet Culture Fund and the All-Union Children's Fund imeni V.I.Lenin. It is important to note that participation in

secular activities is viewed by the church as one of the most effective and acceptable forms of understanding the ideals and values of socialism. Forms of social service are becoming increasingly diverse; they include contributions to the Peace Fund and the Fund for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments and donations to repair the consequences of the Chernobyl mishap and the Armenian earthquake.

[Komrakov] Does the church's response to extremely important changes under way in our country entail broad participation in public life?

[Kufakova] Lately we have noticed a broad-ranging change in emphasis. While the traditional theosophy constantly reminded believers that everything was God's will, today the idea of man's responsibility and creative initiative is gaining prominence. Requirements for the development of religious thought are changing; it is becoming closer to reality, more open and closer to everyday life: everything for the sake of the human being, for the human being and addressed to the human being. Is this not consonant with the principles and norms of Soviet society and the concept of the human factor advanced by perestroika?

I think that we are in complete agreement here, which means that we have tasks and problems in common. Common efforts could be beneficial for both sides. There are real topics for dialogue, including solid peace on earth, the environment, more humane society, social justice and preservation of the spiritual legacy of our people. The field of common enterprise could be found in creating films, preparing historical articles on ancient temples and undertaking archeological digs and restoration projects.

To be sure, these bright visions of cooperation between state and church do not remove ideological contradictions which exist between religion and socialism. Church officials recognize this as well. We must not discount attempts by the church to use perestroika, which has galvanized the process of humanization of the society, to raise the prestige of religion and to broaden its sphere of influence. All these factors should be taken into account in atheist education. At the same time, while engaging in antireligious propaganda, we must never forget that believers in our country are above all Soviet citizens, workers and patriots who share our country's problems. This idea was expressed at M.S.Gorbachev's meeting with Pimen, the Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia, and members of the Russian Orthodox Synod.

Some time later, I again ran into Igor. He now teaches in upper classes. What does he teach his students?

"I teach them to be honest, to love our Motherland, and to feel part of all of our country's problems," replied Igor with his usual gravity. "I think that everyone must learn this, be they pioneers or komsomol members."



**Estonian Council of Churches Discusses  
Radio/TV Broadcast of Services, Other Issues**  
*18001160 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in  
Russian 20 Apr 89 p 1*

[ETA REPORT by R. Ristlaan: "Estonian Council of Churches Meets"]

[Text] A regular working session of the Estonian Council of Churches was held on 17 April in the consistory of the Estonian Evangelical-Lutheran Church (EYELTS). Represented at the session was the entire EYELTS council, the Tallinn eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Estonian Methodist Church, the Estonian Brotherhood of Evangelical Christian Baptists and the Estonian Center of Seventh Day Adventists. Present as observers were representatives of the Catholic and Evangelical Christian

communities. K. Payula, EYELTS archbishop, conducted the meeting.

Various issues concerning joint activities were discussed including celebration of the 250th anniversary of the publication of the Estonian language Bible and distribution of the Bible among denominations, the appeal of the Estonian Christian Union to the Estonian Council of Churches, the Estonian Council of Churches' petition that it be granted legal status, and the possibilities for using television and radio for the transmission of divine services.

Church leaders were also received on 17 April by I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers.

It was decided to hold the next working session on 14 June in the Pyukhtitskiy Monastery.

**KGB Officials Comment on Uzbek Bribery Cases**  
*18001022 Moscow NEDEL'YA in Russian No 17,  
24-30 Apr 89 p 7*

[Interview with Col of Justice Artur Georgiyevich Nikiforov, deputy chief of the USSR KGB's Investigative Department, and Maj Valeriy Valeryevich Mozhginskiy, chief of a subdivision of the department: "Trap for Bribe-Takers"; interview preceded by two letters from readers]

[Text] Esteemed editors!

We young people at a subsidiary of the Kristall Plant have been closely following events in the country. We are especially disturbed by reports about crimes by the "mafia."

I myself took part several years ago as a witness in the confiscation of valuables from criminals. I saw everything with my own eyes. This work was done by officers of the KGB. Having read Moscow worker Yu. Nikiforov's letter "The Chekists Should Go After the Mafia" in NEDEL'YA No 14, I hasten to support that appeal. In the situation that is taking shape, the KGB, too, ought to be brought in on work to combat organized crime.

*[Signed] Iktam SHAKHIDOV, Kashka-Darya Oblast.*

Yu. Nikiforov puts the matter correctly in NEDEL'YA. I am certain that the KGB has adequate capability to successfully combat crime and has no right to stand on the sidelines. As a native resident of Bukhara, I know that it was KGB personnel who exposed and arrested Bukhara bribe-takers and underground millionaires in 1983. Items of immense value were confiscated. Moreover, this was done in a period in which Rashidov was alive and his people held key posts. Today this aspect of the KGB's work should be related in greater detail. The Chekists have a duty to more vigorously continue the fight against insolent criminals. The whole people is for it.

*[Signed. I. KAMILOV, CPSU member, Bukhara.*

**NEDEL'YA'S editors requested that the USSR KGB's Investigative Department comment on these letters.**

**Col of Justice Artur Georgiyevich Nikiforov, deputy chief of the Investigative Department, comments:**

"Yes, it is true that for a long time now the state security agencies have been doing work to uncover and stop the criminal activities of groups of major bribe-takers and embezzlers of socialist property operating within Uzbekistan (and of course, not just in Uzbekistan).

"Back in July 1981 Uzbekistan's KGB brought criminal charges against Rozengauz and other large-scale embezzlers of state property (12 people in all) who had been operating within the republic's local-industry system.

KGB officers confiscated from the accused and persons connected with them 3,945,890 rubles' worth of cash and valuables that had been obtained by criminal means.

"After the principal episodes in the criminal activities of the accused persons had been supported by proof, in October 1981 the case was turned over to the USSR Procuracy for prosecution. Criminal charges in the case were subsequently brought against more than 30 persons. Some of them have been convicted; investigations of a number of the accused were only completed at the end of 1988.

"On 27 April 1983 the Uzbek SSR State Security Committee brought criminal charges against Muzafarov, chief of the Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation of the Bukhara Oblispolkom's Internal Affairs Administration, who had been caught red-handed receiving a bribe. In May-June 1983 another seven people, former employees of the oblast Internal Affairs Administration and trade enterprises, including Director of the Internal Affairs Administration Dustov, Kudratov, director of the city industrial-goods trade organization, and others, were included in the case and arrested.

"In searches of the accused and persons associated with them, KGB officers confiscated 6,001,685 rubles' worth of cash, and prerevolutionary gold coins and gold jewelry set with precious stones hidden in caches, all obtained by criminal means.

"The investigation uncovered cases in which the accused had paid bribes to a number of officials of the republic's state apparatus and law-enforcement agencies, including Uzbekistan's Minister of Internal Affairs Ergashev and other executives of that department.

"On 18 August 1983, after investigative actions to gather the necessary evidence to establish the main episodes of criminal activities by the accused had been completed, the criminal case against Muzafarov and others—eight persons in all—was turned over to the USSR Procuracy for further investigation and accepted for prosecution by T. Kh. Gdlyan. Five investigators from Uzbekistan's KGB continued to provide assistance in the investigation of the case until November 1985."

**Maj Valeriy Valeryevich Mozhginskiy, chief of a subdivision of the USSR KGB's Investigative Department, provides further explanations. V. V. Mozhginskiy took part directly in the operation in question:**

"On 11 August 1984 Karimov, former first secretary of the Bukhara Obkom of the Uzbek Communist Party, was arrested in the criminal case against Muzafarov and placed temporarily in an solitary-confinement cell of the USSR KGB. In the initial stage of investigation he conducted himself uncandidly and refused to give truthful testimony to the investigator of the USSR Procuracy.

"At that time the USSR KGB received reliable information concerning the place where the arrested person had concealed money and valuables that had been gained by criminal means. In November 1984 officers of the State Security Committee, with the participation of investigators of the USSR Procuracy (to whom the case had been turned over for prosecution) confiscated, in Kitabskiy Rayon, Kashka-Darya Oblast, 282,953 rubles' worth of money and bonds and 2,721 tsarist gold coins, 2 gold medals, and 10,899 items of gold jewelry, some containing precious stones, weighing a total of 93 kg, 616 grams, and valued at 4,309,550 rubles. Nearly a quintal of gold!

"The investigation of Karimov's criminal activities was completed in January 1987. The USSR Supreme Court sentenced him to be executed. In an act of mercy, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet commuted Karim's death sentence to 20 years' deprivation of freedom."

**A. G. Nikiforov rejoins the discussion:**

"With respect to Muzafarov and a number of persons involved in the case with him, a guilty verdict was handed down by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court in May 1986.

"In connection with this case, in 1985-1989 investigators of the USSR Procuracy arrested Usmankhodzhaev, former first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; Osetrov, second secretary of the Central Committee; Khudayberdiyev, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers; Orlov, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet; Churbanov, former USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs; former first secretaries Khudaybergenov of the Khorezm Obkom, Kamalov of the Kara-Kalpak Obkom, Yesin of the Navoi Obkom, and Musakhanov of the Tashkent Obkom; Umarov, administrator of affairs of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; Yakhyayev, republic minister of internal affairs; his deputy Kakhramanov; and other responsible officials of the party and soviet apparatuses and law-enforcement agencies—more than 50 persons in all.

But back in June 1983 Uzbekistan's State Security Committee carried out comprehensive measures with respect to a group of persons who had been engaging in the theft of petroleum products in especially large amounts and in bribery. The criminals had maintained ties with certain executives of law-enforcement agencies and of the State Committee for Petroleum Products.

"The republic KGB brought criminal charges against Zakiriyayev, the director of a filling station. In this case, 13 employees of petroleum depots and filling stations, as well as Madaminov, chief of a department of the Tashkent Oblispolkom's State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate had criminal charges brought against them and were arrested.

"KGB officers confiscated 1,757,440 rubles' worth of criminally obtained money and valuables from those who had been arrested. The investigation uncovered instances in which the accused had paid bribes to a number of executives of law-enforcement agencies, including Ergashev, the minister of internal affairs.

"When work on documenting the principal episodes of criminal activities on the part of the accused was completed, on 15 August 1983 the case against them was turned over for prosecution to the Uzbek SSR Procuracy, which finished the investigation.

"On 26 January 1984 the KGB's Administration for the City of Moscow and Moscow Oblast arrested Muminov, the director of the Uchtepinskiy Cotton Ginning Mill of the Uzbek SSR's Dzhizakzaghlopkoprom [approximate expansion: Dzhizak Industrial Cotton Procurement] Association, and Khalmatov, a commodity specialist at the same association's Dustlik Cotton Mill, who were caught red-handed in an attempt to pay a 40,000-ruble bribe to an executive of the Serpukhov Krasnyy Tekstilshchik Cotton Combine for drawing up false documents attesting to mills' delivery of 150 tons of cotton to the combine.

"The Uzbek SSR KGB brought criminal charges against these persons. In the course of further investigation in the case, criminal charges were also brought against Shadiyev, the director of the Dzhizakzaghlopkoprom Association; Sultanov, the director of the Uchtepinskiy Cotton Ginning Mill's receiving center; Kushnarenko, the director of the Mikhaylov Nonfabric Materials Factory in Ryazan Oblast; and Trunin, the director of that enterprises's quality control department.

"KGB officers confiscated 2,014,000 rubles' worth of criminally obtained money and valuables from the accused and placed property valued at at least 300,000 rubles under arrest. The investigation produced information on the criminal activities of a number of officials in the system of cotton production and processing in the RSFSR, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan who had engaged in the embezzlement of socialist property, the forgery of official documents, and report padding; this included information about abuses by Khudayberdiyev, former chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, and Usmanov, former republic minister of the Cotton Cleaning Industry.

"After the principal episodes of criminal activity by the accused had been supported with evidence, the criminal case was turned over on 16 March 1984 to the USSR Procuracy. Subsequently more than 30 persons had criminal charges brought against them and were arrested in the case. On 29 March 1988 the RSFSR Supreme Court's Collegium for Criminal Cases sentenced them all to various terms of deprivation of freedom.

"The aforementioned criminal cases, which were initiated and investigated in the initial stage by agencies of

the KGB, were base cases, and on the basis of them, once they had been turned over to other law-enforcement agencies, work to put a stop to embezzlement and bribery continued, and it continues to this day.

"The role of KGB agencies in combating organized crime in Uzbekistan has not been limited to the investigation of the aforementioned criminal cases. In particular, the work of KGB investigative and operational officers in uncovering and putting a stop to the criminal activities of Adylov, the former general director of the Papskiy Rayon Agroindustrial Association, who for a long time abused his office and engaged with impunity in large-scale embezzlement and in bribery, merits a positive appraisal. A criminal case against Adylov was initiated on 13 August 1984 by the Namangan Oblast Internal Affairs Administration. Materials possessed by agencies of the Uzbek SSR KGB have been actively used in the interests of the investigation of the case, which is being conducted with the direct participation of three investigators from the republic's State Security Committee.

"Nor must one must not fail to mention the participation of Uzbekistan's State Security Committee in the investigation of the case against the mafia group of criminals that murdered Yuldashev, the chief of a department of the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate of the Tashkent City Ispolkom's Internal Affairs Administration. The case was initiated in December 1983 and was initially investigated by forces of the procuracy and militia agencies. Because of outright betrayal, corruption and a lack of objectivity on the part of certain officials involved in the initial stage of the investigation, the investigation and attempt to solve the crime reached an impasse.

"Only after investigators from the State Security Committee had been placed on the investigative brigade, and operational crime-solving measures had been vigorously pursued were the persons responsible for organizing and carrying out the murder identified. They turned out to be Dzhanzakov, the former director of an administration of the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate, who had initially been a member of the staff for investigating the murder, and former State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate employees Kambaritdinov, Zhamanov and others. The Uzbek SSR Supreme Court heard the case. Dzhanzakov, Zhamanov and Kambaritdinov were sentenced to be executed, and the rest received long terms of deprivation of freedom.

"It should be noted, stated A. G. Nikiforov in conclusion, "that articles in the press about individual cases and trials of embezzlers and bribe-takers from Uzbekistan, and some presentations on this subject on television have formed among part of the country's population the idea, which is far from the truth, that only a small group of investigators from the Procuracy have been waging an uncompromising fight against corruption, criminal clans, etc. Even the few facts that I have cited show that this is not the case. It is another matter that the

Chekists should sharply step up their participation in the fight against the mafia and organized crime—in that I agree with the Moscow worker who shares my surname."

### Ministry Hinders Courts' Independence

18001034 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
12 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by V. Kononenko, chairman of the Oktyabrskiy Rayon People's Court, Moscow: "Independent, But Subordinate: The Position of the People's Courts in the Minyust [Ministry of Justice] System"]

[Text] Historical experience shows us that however good the laws may be, they do not function in and of themselves. Laws are realized only in the process of their application. And here the leading—or, one might even say more precisely, the decisive—role belongs to the court.

Unfortunately, in our society, by virtue of the peculiarities of its development, courts do not play the leading role that has been intended for them by the nature of judicial authority. Probably the initial error lies primarily—and this opinion is shared by the majority of serious jurists—in the lack of recognition of the independence of judicial authority.

And so it has developed that judicial authority to this day is dependent upon the executive authority and is monitored by it: the people's courts are organizationally subordinate to departments and administrations of justice. But there is not a single "wise man" who can yet explain to us where the organizational questions concerning the court's activities end (what, in general, should be referred to them?) and where the activity of the court, essentially speaking, begins. Also, how does one divide this single concept, if only speculatively? Hence the customary interference of the Minyust agencies—immediately "into all questions"...

In general, the situation somewhat resembles the well-known times when our official science did not recognize genetics or cybernetics. However, no official point of view could change the objective existence of the natural regularities underlying the essence and development of matter. Simply, the vacuum of denial was filled up: in one instance by ignorance, and in another by the practical lagging behind in those branches of knowledge that determined scientific-technical progress.

The stubborn nonrecognition of the complete independence of justice had much more dramatic consequences for people, and for society it was lawlessness! Because the very purpose of the courts lies primarily in defending a person's legal rights and interests irrespective of who has encroached upon them.

And this axiom should be assimilated in our days, because the court continues to be viewed as a link in the administrative system of administration, a link that

people attempt unceasingly to "shorten" precisely within the confines of the struggle against bureaucratic excesses. And yet it is in the prestigious position of the court that one sees the state's true intentions to guarantee the protection of the interests of the members of society.

It is necessary only to be gratified by the fact that, having gone beyond the pure criticism of the bourgeois concept of the "rule-of-law state," criticism which prevailed until the recent past in scientific circles, we have finally approached an understanding of the need to create a socialist rule-of-law state.

Yes, a rule-of-law state is linked with the law. It cannot go beyond its confines and encroach upon the citizens' subjective rights. At the present time we have only begun to form a rule-of-law state, but at the very first stages one can observe the previous undervaluation of the independence of the judicial authority.

Despite the experience of all the civilized countries, in our country, by a process of inertia and belittling the role and importance of the court, people continue to insist on its direct subordination to Minyust. And as a result there is the humiliating position of the "parasites," the extremely low level of the material-technical support provided to the courts. We shall state outright that today no one is surprised any more by anything—the crumbling ceilings in the court areas, the miserable furniture, the lack of normal—pardon the expression—toilets for the citizens who are visiting our institutions. Although the amount of money paid into the state budget from the courts substantially exceed the expenditures to maintain them. Moreover, one should not forget that all the working citizens regularly pay taxes, some of which are supposed to be used specifically to meet the needs of the agencies of justice.

To the picture of the truly impoverished existence one must add the fact that the courts, especially in the cities, are literally engulfed by cases. And if that were not bad enough, as a result of the new legislation that is aimed at expanding the judicial defense of the citizens' rights and interests, one has also noted a tendency for an increase in the number of cases.

The courts are overloaded and overexhausted, and this explains the nervous irritability, the errors, and sometimes even the improper behavior. One has noted another tendency, which I consider to be definitely not accidental—the disdainful attitude toward the court. Thousands of civil cases lie around in the courts without being considered, only because the opposing sides fail to show up to court sessions, completely ignoring the legal duties imposed on them. At the fault of the opposing sides, certain cases have been postponed as many as 30-40 times. And yet, if one thinks carefully about it, this is a direct reflection of the attitude that the state itself takes toward judicial activity, and the way that it values it. It would seem that there is an acute need to change the

norms of the legislature governing civil court proceedings, that would guarantee the movement of the trial irrespective of the behavior of the opposing sides. But this does not remove the problem of the prestige of the judicial authority.

Or consider the following question. In the recent election there was a considerable reduction in the age of the court corps. This should be welcomed. But with one proviso: if the persons who have come to the court are certified jurists who have undergone special training... I cannot find an explanation of which, in our country, the concern for training the people's judges, practically speaking, has been transferred from the shoulders of the state to the shoulders of the chairmen of the people's courts. Does this mean that this is not necessary for the state? But it is considered to be important that the chairman must continue to train the office manager and the secretaries, to monitor them, and to be responsible for the work of the court executors. I am not even mentioning the fact that the chairmen are required to take part in measures of the city court and the justice administration, and to attend meetings at the CPSU RK [Rayon Committee] and the rayon soviet of people's deputies. And, finally, obviously, each of us must remember that he receives the salary of a people's judge and in that capacity is required to engage in the exercising of justice.

Of course, the list of the duties carried out by the chairman of the people's court could be continued, but it should end in the economic problems. I would like to ask, first of all: is it possible for the court to maintain all its communication means in at least normal working condition if it does not have even a kopeck at its disposal? In general, the answer is obvious to everyone, including Minfin [Ministry of Finance], in whose embrace we are being suffocated: all the funds received from the court go into a depersonalized account—and that explains our impoverished position. There have been frequent attempts to raise the question of the need for the courts to open up a special account in the banks that would receive the monetary means earned by them, a small amount of which the court would be able to dispose of independently. However, this question continues to be unresolved.

This attitude toward the needs and wants of the courts could scarcely be deemed worthy. Moreover it is completely obvious not a single one of the chronic problems of the court system that have been broadly discussed for a long time at the most varied levels is even approaching resolution within the foreseeable future. In any case, the judges have lost confidence about this. And so the counteraction is: the refusal of many experienced and respected judges to run in the forthcoming elections for a 10-year period. One should not forget that even the system of paying for the labor performed by the people's judges, the technical personnel, and the judicial executors is far from perfection. It is precisely for that reason that, with a consideration of the economic situation that

has developed, the new legislation concerning the procedure for electing judges does not guarantee the permanent assignment of highly professional cadres in the courts.

If one looks at the real-life situation, at the present time one can note three basic channels for the loss of those cadres: the lawyer profession, cooperatives, and mixed enterprises. In these spheres the former judges, as jurists possessing a large amount of experience in the practice of applying the law, demonstrate their abilities brilliantly. I understand the entire importance and need of these spheres. But the court system is being deprived on experienced judges, and this results not only in interruptions in court activity, but also in much more negative consequences.

Time is hurrying by. It would seem that, in order to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union CSPU Conference, with regard to the formation of a rule-of-law state it is necessary—and as quickly as possible—to carry out, in addition to the other measures, the following.

1. To carry out, in the practical situation, the independence of the judicial authority—to remove the judicial agencies from the Ministry of Justice system, transferring to the superior courts all the organizational functions linked with the courts' activity.
2. To create the proper level of material-technical support provided to the courts, which corresponds to their importance and role in the rule-of-law state.
3. To organize a state system of training of judicial cadres.

Court reform is being prepared. But how can we be assured that there will not be a repetition, for reasons of inertia, of the customary approaches that were revealed in connection with the publication of the draft version of the Principles of Criminal Legislation? Doesn't the lack of an alternative draft attract attention to itself? Needless to say, this has deprived the majority of our fellow citizens of the opportunity, with a consideration of their legal literacy, to work together to compare various points of view of legal scientists with regard to the problems linked with a change of the Principles. At least, the drafts of the new legislation should be published with an indicator of their authors.

But, in one way or another, the draft of the Principles, even without an alternative version, has been published sufficiently broadly—it can be discussed. As for the documents pertaining to court reform, not a single one of the drafts has yet been published. And I am very apprehensive that the people's court will be restructured, essentially speaking, without any consideration of the opinion of the people itself. And it will continue to remain independent, but... subordinate.

### **Efficacy of Juvenile Correctional System Examined**

*18001026 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[Article by special correspondent I. Ovchinnikova: "Before and After Punishment: Is the Correctional System For Problem Adolescents Working?"]

[Text] Kirov—"But why us?" worries Yuriy Alekseyevich Kultynov, deputy chairman of the gorispolkom. "Can our situation in that respect be any worse than other cities?"

"No," I reassure him. "Alas, it's no worse. It's just the same."

Kirov really does differ very little from other oblast capitals. This city, too, has lost its unique look, and its Vyatka Hotel, which is exactly like those I stayed in in Ryazan or Tula, still bears its former name. Just as in other cities, endless rows of identical prefabricated buildings stretch along streets with broken sidewalks. The store counters are just as unattractive. And just as everywhere else, teenage or, to put it more precisely, child crime is growing here: by more than one-third every year.

Is the city attempting to resist this avalanche? Once again, no worse than any other city. You read the fat files of minutes that are accurately kept by the secretary of the commission on juvenile cases, and—"To carry out systematic and purposeful work to shape....; To point out to school directors....; To demand....; To take action to improve...." The fruitlessness of these incantations is equally obvious both to those who pronounce them and to those who listen to them and write them down on their note pads.

But one can also say: just what can be done by a commission on juvenile cases that is condemned to discuss in a single session five of these cases and, thus, to give some direction to 25 lives, behind each of which lies profound family distress, the helplessness of the schools, and our general inability to change either the one or the other in any way?

In my presence the city commission convened on an emergency case: the mother of a fifth-grader named Dima had disputed the decision of a rayon commission to send her son to a special school. The case really was not such a common one. Usually parents not only reconcile themselves but even ask to have their offspring sent as far away as possible: that way they won't be chasing after him through basements and lofts, and there will be someone to summon him to school, curse him out, and threaten him. And even more often there is simply no one to intercede for a youngster: the children's-home or boarding-school kids who come before

the commission are no one's. But Dima's mother, so to speak, went to the wall. However, she did not succeed in defending her son.

The list of his transgressions really is depressing: he steals, smokes, drinks alcohol, and lit fire to the buttons in an elevator. But is it possible that a year in a special school (where youngsters are kept only until age 15, and Dima is nearly 14) will straighten him out?

"I know of no such cases," avows Z. N. Pomytkina, the director of a city school. "Special school is almost inevitably followed by a special vocational-technical school or a [juvenile penal] colony. And after that—"

Zinaida Nikolayevna's hopeless prophesy is confirmed by the equally hopeless figure: out of 11 youngsters "corrected" by special schools and returned two years ago to just one of three city rayons, nine have committed crimes and been convicted.

A sorrowful path, the end of which is known in advance, begins for all these youngsters in the city juvenile receiving center. And here I can say quite responsibly that the receiving center in Kirov is better and more intelligent than many I have seen over many years. I was unlucky—I came there during the frenzy of remodeling that had been under way for many months, and the director Yelena Ivanovna Pozdyayeva was quite naturally distraught. However, the smell of paint, traces of whitewash on the floor, and other disarray in no way prevented me from sensing that this was a person who was in the right job, and from regretting that the period of her pedagogical influence on youngsters was limited to one or, at most, two months. What can she manage to do in that time? Prompt someone to repent, discern a living soul in another, and discern in everyone a child of great misfortune, an unhappy child, even though it may be a very old one, who there, in this gloomy building with barred windows, behind barbed wire, has for the first time had a good sleep in a clean bed, eaten a normal meal, and heard a sympathetic word addressed to him.

But assignments will arrive, and these young boys and girls—who, incidentally, during all the time they spent at the receiving center have never studied—will go their separate ways. If they are sent to a special vocational-technical school, that means going to a different oblast (Yelena Ivanovna considers that profoundly wrong), and if they are sent to a special school, that means nearby, close to the city. Will any good come of this? Yelena Ivanovna shakes her head: no, only in isolated cases is it possible to rectify the abnormal development of an individual.

Moreover, who makes a serious attempt to do so, if neither the juvenile receiving center nor even a special school has a psychologist, a specialist who would know how to turn around precisely *this* specific child, based on the circumstances of his life and the history of his illness, and make him look at himself in a new way? And how

can one count on the restoration of health when an embittered, tormented teenager who hates everyone and everything (as Yelena Ivanovna puts it quite accurately—a socially devastated teenager) ends up in conditions such as those that await him, for example, in Poroshina?

Imagine dreary log structures built back at the end of the previous century for juvenile criminals. In one of them, contrary to all prescriptions, the special school director Nina Grigoryevna Shestakova, at her own risk, maintains metal-working and carpentry shops under a roof that could collapse at any moment. But what is a young boy to do if such a simple job as putting together boxes is in doubt?

Nina Grigoryevna is a newcomer in Poroshina. She previously worked in a regular school—granted, it was a rural school, so she was not spoiled by good conditions. But she sometimes throws up her hands over what was waiting for her here. No, she does not give up, and she works to get first one thing and then another. Nonetheless, neglect reigns in the dormitories: everything around is dreary and ragged; the bath is heated once a week; there are no showers. While I was there the boys were having a contest to see who could climb up a Swedish box the most times. And after 24 climbs the soaking-wet victor pulled on his clothes—where are they to acquire normal human habits? The director shrugged her shoulders: you ought to have seen them after unloading coal—black and terrible-looking, and there was nothing to do: they would go around that way until bath day.

As we see, there is nowhere to care for the body. And the soul? There is not even an ordinary empty room where a youngster who is out of control can be brought and told to sit, think things over, and calm down. Instead—punishment in a lock-up cell, which is elegantly called a disciplinary isolation cell.

And why punish him? He ought to be treated. Nina Grigoryevna is not a physician, but she understands that most of the youngsters do not need a special school with its "regulated aspects," but a sanatorium, a warm, cozy home. In short, they need a real rehabilitation center set up according to the latest word in psychology and medicine, where knowledgeable specialists know not how to "set brains," which is what is mostly done by special schools or special vocational-technical schools, but how to return a youngster who has gone astray to the normal path. Not by intuition, but according to science.

But the main thing is, how can 15-year-olds be sent on their way without having been given a chance to at least complete eight-year school, to at least acquire some sort of vocation? And where are they to be sent? On the documents it sounds fine—for further upbringing. And who will do the upbringing? Parents who drink constantly? The same environment that has already brought them once to the end of their tether? A children's home

(and one in every four children in a special school is from a children's home), from which a youngster will be sent further on his way?

The youngsters themselves know very well what awaits them. They have seen all they need to when they were free. And is it any wonder that, in response to pleas to conduct themselves better and gain their return to that same freedom, they reply: but I like it better here? Of course, they like it better. In some fashion they are fed, clothed (of course, it takes cleverness to clothe a youngster for 120 rubles a year, but all the same), and put to bed. And after this, what? After this, even though a "positive" character reference is included in their personal file, they will not be accepted at a regular vocational-technical school: who needs a youngster from a special school with his biography, with all that he has picked up, plus what he came with (he came, let's say, with a proclivity for vagrancy, and he leaves with sexual perversions, to boot, and painted up in such a way that you wouldn't show yourself on the beach).

Who really does need him? Who—if you consider, in addition, that he is 15 years old, and he has to be stuck in the sixth grade, and he will not be hired for a job, since there is nothing but trouble with the likes of him (and to this, let's add cost accounting, which in no way disposes employers to undertake pedagogical concerns)?

And the problem starts to reproduce itself. I was told about a young girl whose mother and grandmother both had had parental rights taken away. And now this little girl is about to give birth. What will she do with the baby, even if she wanted to burden herself with motherhood? However, this is a separate topic and merits a separate discussion.

Only an absolutely healthy and well-balanced person can stand firm and avoid all the reefs. But if such people end up in a special school, it is the exception, about which there is nothing to be said. And the rest? Can it be that it is a dead end? Can it be that there is no social antidote, no barrier to that disaster, which really cannot be fenced off from ordinary life with any sort of walls?

Why am I talking about this? Because you and I, the so-called majority, well-off people who daily see our clean, well-fed children off to school after a good night's sleep, people who are concerned only with getting the weeds removed from the field in time and who know nothing about the cesspools, the various "special schools" where those weeds end up—because we will save neither ourselves nor our children in this way. The teenager who has returned from a correctional institution in no way corrected but, to the contrary, ruined for good—that teenager now really is dangerous to his former classmates and recognizes them as enemies for the fact alone that they have not been through his school. He beats them up, robs them, and humiliates them not only in order to take something and profit in some way, but also to get revenge for his maimed childhood,

boyhood and youth, because, in essence, all these pure, resonant words and concepts are inapplicable to what he has experienced.

So fine: we have exclaimed a bit, sighed a bit, and unburdened ourselves. But we need to do something. And although it is not a journalist's job to propose a program and course of action, and everyone with whom I discussed these things merely wrung their hands in distress, let me try to express my ideas.

We must begin, of course, with providing a woman the opportunity to rear a child at least until the age of three. And then substantially reduce the number of children in kindergarten groups and the primary grades, because an attendant is incapable of dealing with a child who deviates the least bit in his development if he is one of 25 (or even 40). This deviating child needs first a group and then a class designed to help children catch up, that is, the sort of group or class where there are no more than 12 pupils and the material is covered more slowly than in a regular class, and thus a child masters it, and the teacher does not move on until that happens. It is time to realize that such a class is not a bourgeois invention and not a luxury, but the same sort of urgent requirement as a well organized psychological service.

Furthermore, we spend incredible amounts of money on boarding schools for orphans, but to all intents and purposes we cast them to the wind, since we take the youngsters up only to the eighth grade, casting a teenager loose at the most difficult moment of his life, instead of carrying him through to his attainment of social maturity (contrary to the rules, the director of the first-rate Kirov Boarding School No 6 keeps the older students, that is, those who have entered vocational-technical school, at his school; let them study wherever, but they live at home). We also spend a good deal on special schools. That same Poroshina Special School has 87 staff members for 130 children. The results, we know. So maybe we should stop throwing together into one heap a youngster who has been unable to resist stealing a car mirror and one who really is incorrigible and profoundly depraved? Can it be that resorting to such institutions, in general, should be thinkable only in extreme cases, when everything else has been tried? It is no accident, incidentally, that there are some school directors who simply rule out the possibility of their getting rid of a difficult youngster in this fashion.

Finally, something must be thought up in order that a teenager who has returned from a special institution can promptly get a job. Evidently the best method would be to organize cooperatives where such youngsters would be brought together, occupations would be found for them that they could handle, and they would be taught vocations. And not just out of kindness, and not "on assignment," but in such a way that the work would be in all respects profitable. Children's homes have experience with this—why not try it more widely?



And one last point. The outward forms of things can be misleading. Everything that is proposed, of course, requires money, and a good deal of it. But let us think: any expenditure becomes pointless if that for which money has been spent, that is, a machine tool or motor vehicle, a calculating machine, or a medication, ends up in the hands of a damaged human being, who, accordingly, damages everything he touches, whether it be living flesh or inanimate matter. But if that is the case, perhaps we should deny ourselves whatever it takes, but do everything possible to break the vicious circle that thousands of boys and girls follow today. They are our children. And no one but us will save them.

### Value of Police Volunteers Questioned

18000837 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
10 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by P. Petrichenko, head of the Latvian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Department for Law Enforcement: "What Should the People's Militia Be?"]

[Text] Recently, statistics about the crime in our republic for the last year were published for the first time. The figures presented have aroused serious concern and demonstrate the alarming state of the situation.

A total of 22,991 crimes were committed last year in the republic - almost seven percent more than in 1987. The increase occurred primarily in crimes for profit. In particular, there was a great deal of theft of personal property. Street crime has significantly increased. The largest percentage of those taken into custody were adolescents. Of the capitals of the union republics, Riga occupies by no means honorable first place with respect to crime rate.

In this situation, the police agencies are in great need of assistance from the public, primarily voluntary people's militia [DND]. It would appear that there are quite sufficient assistants: there are 3,395 volunteer people's militia in the republic, which constitutes 70 thousand people. But this is according to official statistics. How many active militia are there in actual fact? Judging from the results of the work of the DND, not very many.

Last year, the people's militia became noticeably less active: the number of violators of public order taken into custody by the militia significantly decreased, although the state of public order leaves something to be desired. More than 3,000 duties have come to nought. More than 20 thousand people have left the volunteer people's militia, in Riga - more than eight thousand, and therefore, it is no coincidence that it is becoming increasingly rare to see militia on the city streets. Individual preventive work with lawbreakers has practically ceased. The instruction sessions conducted by the district police inspectors at the DND headquarters are frequently assuming a formal character.

What is going on? Why is the authority of the people's militia falling so dramatically? There are several reasons. One of them is the cancellation of three days of additional paid vacation which members of the DND received, but it appears that this is not the main thing. It is said that so-called "street democracy" has had an effect - militia, instead of the police, are responsible for maintaining public order at meetings attended by large crowds. Several informal organizations are trying to create a certain amount of similarity in their militia, and this is extremely dangerous and could have unforeseeable consequences.

In my opinion, another thing should be taken in consideration. Volunteer people's militia have been in operation for thirty years now. During these years, they have indisputably made a significant contribution to the protection of public order. However, I think the time has come to consider changing our approach toward the use of these militia.

The majority of them have been organized at enterprises and in institutions, i.e. where the militia work. Only in rural areas do they maintain order where they work and live. In the cities, on the other hand, the DND is usually on duty in microregions where they neither work nor live. It must be confessed that when patrolling these areas, the militia try to hurry home early - before 11:00 p.m. Furthermore, they are not very familiar with "strange" microregions and their idiosyncrasies. They only half listen to the admonitions of the district inspectors at the instructional sessions and are on duty only to "do their time on the clock."

Duty close to home is another matter. In this case, the militia take a personal interest in maintaining order there, they know the apartment rowdies and drunkards - "the disturbers of the peace" - and it is easier for them to spot suspicious outsiders. Women, and they constitute 23 percent of the members of DND, can leave for a short time to go see a child left at home. In this way, the benefits of being on duty close to home are plain to see.

By the way, this kind of practice does not contradict the Statute on the DND and is gaining acceptance in Lenin-grad, Minsk and Sverdlovsk. In Riga, there are also those in favor of reviewing the way the DND are used.

As early as 1987, at ZhER-85 [not further identified] of the Proletarskiy Rayon, two units were formed from local residents. They quite energetically arrested drunkards, rowdies and teenagers inclined toward hooliganism. The public order in the microregion noticeably improved.

The question may be asked: in this case, should the militia at enterprises and institutions be disbanded? No, not if the matter is organized properly.

The days militia are on duty at their places of residence should be noted in the militia' logbooks or on special

insets for evaluation by the DND headquarters. Let people be on duty where they are most comfortable, where they will bring the greatest benefits. We are not talking about abolishing the DND at enterprises, but about using them differently in the interests of public order.

It would be good idea for the ispolkoms of the city and regional soviets to review this question taking into consideration the local conditions and even express their thoughts concerning the further use of the DND.

At the same time, a second question has been raised: have we not been too carried away with the creation of special militia and groups of militia? There are four types of specialized DND in the republic: for the struggle against plunderers of socialist property, for preventing violations of the law by teenagers, for maintaining the safety of road traffic and for protecting state boundaries.

But in recent years proposals for creating specialized DND for medical sobering stations, for preventing the stealing of automobiles and apartment theft, for the struggle against drug addiction and prostitution, etc., etc. are being put forward with increasing persistence.

Is this narrow specialization necessary? Practice is showing that the special duties created for the struggle against theft of socialist property are not justifying themselves. There are 290 of them in the republic - approximately three thousand militia. This year they exposed a total of several dozen instances of petty theft, and this was accomplished with the aid of extradepartmental militia. As the saying goes: the game is not worth the candle.

It is much more important to decisively improve the training of volunteer militia assistants, not divide them into contrived special groups. Each one should know how to arrest a speculator or a pickpocket and be aware of the tricks to which drug addicts or car thieves will resort. We, the militia employees, should be the main teachers. At present, a mere seven thousand volunteer militia are studying in the departments of law of the people's universities, but all of them should be studying.

Apparently, the functions of the operative Komsomol brigades of volunteer militia [OKOD] should be reviewed. They should mainly be used for maintaining order during holidays, at discotheques and sporting events. The role of public educators or teachers of their peers, inclined toward lawbreaking, hardly suits 15-17-year old kids - this should be the responsibility of people who are experienced in life, and this does not apply to everyone.

The financial and moral stimulation of the volunteer militia should be taken into consideration when attempting to make them more active. For some reason, congresses of the best representatives of the DND have been forgotten - none have been held for seven years now. And why should we not be concerned about whether active

members are given a vacation at a time which is convenient for them, are granted more trips to sanatoriums and resorts or are given the opportunity to buy cars on favorable terms?

The forms of encouragement, apart from monetary awards and valuable presents, are so few that they are rarely used any more.

Why not offer the members of the DND the right to travel free of charge on all types of public transportation, apart from taxis? The enterprises and ispolkoms of the local soviets could incur the expenses.

The potential of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is not being sufficiently tapped. Two years ago our ministry recommended promotions for 150 volunteer militia. But last year only about 30 people were recommended for promotion. Petitions for awards for bravery, initiative and resourcefulness when arresting criminals and law-breakers have become rare. And not because no one is worthy, but simply due to indifference.

For the third year in a row our ministry, together with the republic headquarters of the DND and the Union of Journalists of the republic, have held a competition for the best coverage of the activities of volunteer people's militia using mass media. Every year the results are compiled, but nothing has been seen so far of the vivid, significant newspaper articles, television programs or radio reports on the competition topic.

Some people may find my thoughts disputable. The methods used to activate the DND may vary. For example, in Tsetsis, they are currently proposing to reduce a contingent of 800-900 militia to 100, but to those who can be completely trusted. They will maintain order near their homes, go on duty several times a month and receive a certain wage. The ispolkom and workers' collectives of several enterprises have agreed to finance this. Life will demonstrate the expediency of a similar way to use the DND.

The main thing at the moment is not to bewail the inactivity of the militia, but to take immediate measures to ensure that they again become reliable assistants of the police in the consolidation of public order and in the struggle against crime.

**Ukrainian MVD Chief Views Crime Wave**  
*18001041 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian*  
2 Apr 89 p 4

[Interview with I.D. Gladush, UkSSR minister of internal affairs, by V. Nikipelov, correspondent: "Such Is Police Life: A Frank Dialogue"]

[Text] After the declassification of the statistics of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], many figures which had long been kept secret were made accessible to

the public. Alas, these figures attest to the fact that last year crime increased steadily and rapidly, and it has grown even more dynamically during the present year....

[Gladush] Indeed, the crime-generating situation in the country has become acutely exacerbated: in 1988 the total number of crimes amounted to 1,867,223, which is 3.8 percent higher than in the preceding year. There has been an increase in the number of premeditated murders, incidents of serious bodily harm, robberies, and theft of personal property. Even more alarming are the "criminal" statistics for the current year.

[Nikipelov] And how do they look in our republic? In specifically what regions is the crime level highest?

[Gladush] Unfortunately, the Ukraine is no exception in this regard.

During 1988 this republic registered 242,974 crimes, which is 2.2 percent higher than last year's figure. Minors committed 20,882 crimes, whereas 40,442 crimes were committed by persons in an inebriated condition.

Let me emphasize that we have not had such crime conditions in recent years.

But if we are to speak about specific regions, then the most alarming situation has evolved in Dnepropetrovsk, Kirovograd, Voroshilovgrad, Nikolayev, Odessa, Ternopol, Kherson, and Chernigov oblasts, as well as on the Dnepr and Southern railroads. Nevertheless, there is the gratifying fact that a decrease in crime has been noted in 14 of the republic's oblasts.

Among the negative trends we must include an increase in the number of serious crimes against the person: thefts, robberies, and assaults with intent to rob. Many murders are committed with incredible cruelty, especially against elderly persons. Criminal "traditions" have begun to emerge more actively. We sense the process of a developing organized and professional crime.

While providing such an objective picture, I would also like to warn people against overly dramatizing the state of affairs. Despite the negative changes in the dynamics and structure of crime, not the slightest serious failures have occurred in safeguarding law and order.

[Nikipelov] Let me ask a very "simple" question: where should we seek the roots of present-day crime? And how can we dig them up more quickly?

[Gladush] Obviously, scientists and sociologists could answer your question most fully. To my way of thinking all these are "percentages" from the stagnant times, echoes of our former economic, social, political, and ideological miscalculations. And if our morally correcting society cannot yet exert a sufficiently effective influence on the deformed psychology of citizens who break

the law, it means that nowadays we must approach the fight against crime in a different way.

My almost 40 years of experience in the police have convinced me of the following: to set one's hopes solely on legal measures to root out crime is like clipping the hair of the top of a person's head. Crime is a social phenomenon. Therefore, it must be fought against having a precise, well-thought-out program of actions on the scale of the entire society.

It is undoubtedly true that the police's role herein is great. But we must not set our hopes solely on its forces. Scientists of the USSR MVD Academy have totaled up and isolated 250 factors influencing crime. But the police, whom we hold primarily responsible for its growth, can influence only 50 of them.

[Nikipelov] By the way, just who is he, the present-day criminal? Is it possible to sketch his "portrait"?

[Gladush] He has become significantly younger: 30 percent of the persons who commit crimes are less than 25 years old. His general-educational level has also risen: the absolute majority have a secondary education, quite often a secondary special or a higher education. Among those who serve their terms of punishment in the labor colonies, more than half are repeat offenders. Mandatory treatments for alcoholism or drug addiction are applied to 25 percent of these persons.

[Nikopelov] For a long time in our country we did not even acknowledge the term "Mafia." But it is extremely dangerous for society to conceive the life around it not as it is, but as they would like it to be....

[Gladush] First of all, let me speak about the term itself. It comprises a wide "collection": extortion, terror, including political criminal family clans, and a great many other things. Fortunately, we have not yet reached such a life. Although in Uzbekistan, as the latest events have shown, everything has begun to approach this stage. Let me foresee your next question and immediately note that the Ukraine has not manifested such widescale criminal corruption or, all the more so, instances where the criminals have utilized terror or have influenced the republic's political life. Although instances of conspiracy between criminals and certain staff members of the law-enforcement, Soviet, or party organs, unfortunately, have been encountered. But at a much lower level.

As to organized crime, this, alas, is likewise a reality in our republic. Nor have we just noted it today. Back in 1986 the UkSSR MVD set up a division for combatting organized crime. Now it has been beefed up organizationally and technically.... Due to measures adopted in 1988 alone, we discovered and rendered inoperative 218 criminal groups, in which about 1,000 persons had been taking part. We confiscated from them 213 firearms and more than 1 million rubles in money.

In recent times rackets have become widespread in our republic's territory. Last year alone the internal affairs organs discovered 900 such instances, in connection with which more than 600 persons were arrested. Also in this connection, the MVD, together with other law-enforcement organs, submitted proposals to the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet with regard to improving the legislation and strengthening the responsibility for extortion.

Taking into consideration the acuteness of the problem and the need for additional measures to deter these dangerous phenomena, the Presidium of this republic's Supreme Soviet in March adopted an Ukase entitled "On Making Amendments to the Criminal and Criminal-Procedural Codes of the UkSSR," which have significantly strengthened the criminal responsibility for extortion.

[Nikipelov] At one of the latest briefings at the USSR MVD it was reported that the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belorussia, and Uzbekistan are making a kind of "crime weather" among minors....

[Gladush] Yes, among adolescents and youths we have observed an increasingly noticeable intensification of negative processes, including bold, hooliganistic outbreaks and a crime-generating group spirit. Thus, for example, grave consequences of such manifestations have taken place in Kiev, Chernigov, Ternopol, and Pershotravensk, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

It is understandable that the police forces alone are insufficient to cope with this trouble also. In preventing violations of the law we count very heavily on help from the local Soviets and from the Komsomol organizations. Nowadays it is important to place kids in jobs; and, you know, under the new economic-management conditions, are trying not to accept difficult youths for work. It is, obviously, necessary to establish a special reserve of jobs for minors at major enterprises.

In the fight against crime among youths we need to seek out new and non-traditional forms and approaches. Here for several years already the so-called parents' patrol has been functioning in the evenings in "trouble spots." And in a number of cities—Vinnitsa, Donetsk, and Kharkov—the police have successfully organized the leisure time of difficult youths. They have involved rock-and-rollers, for example, in safeguarding order on the streets.

[Nikipelov] Many persons are likewise alarmed by the fact that in recent times there has been a considerable increase in the number of crimes committed on the streets....

[Gladush] Street crime has increased by practically one-third, while robberies and muggings have gone up by almost 70 percent. And no matter how we complain about objective causes (and they are very substantial)

and the lack of reserves, we must objectively acknowledge our shortcomings here as well. We are sharply correcting the state of affairs. In order to do this, we have decided, first of all, to make sure that the streets are patrolled to the maximum extent possible, to return to safeguarding public order by all policemen who have no specific assignment now.

In addition to this, it has been decided to renew patrolling by means of the personal time of officers belonging to the internal-affairs organs. Here we are also hoping to receive some active help from volunteer people's guards.

[Nikipelov] The newspapers contain more and more frequent reports of assaults, often even armed assaults on policemen....

[Gladush] Unfortunately, this tendency is to be seen more and more distinctly. Last year bodily harm was caused to 8 of our staff members during assaults. Also attesting to the aggressiveness of the criminal world is the fact that more and more often armed resistance is being offered to members of the police force who are demanding that law and order be observed. In 1988 there were 5 policemen who perished at the hands of criminals while performing their service obligations in this republic; and in 42 instances they were compelled to use their weapons for self-defense. We had not noticed such figures previously....

[Nikipelov] All this brings to the foreground the problem of the social protection of policemen when performing their service duties. We, obviously, need a law concerning the police, which would precisely regulate their rights and obligations. We undoubtedly need other help as well.

[Gladush] Yes, with each passing day, it is becoming more and more complicated to operate in and with the police. There has been a sharp increase in the physical as well as psychological loads placed on the personnel, and responsibility has been increased. The actions of the staff members of the internal-affairs organs are falling with increasing frequency into the focus of public attention. The newspaper pages are simply sprinkled with negative articles about the police.

Understand me correctly here—I am in no way opposed to criticism. But, after all, if for the country as a whole more than 80 percent of the items published in the press are exclusively critical in nature, does this not attest to the bias of the journalist pursuit? After all, not everything in our activities could be so bad as it might seem from the presentations in the press. Do they really mean to say that we have not a single, honest, conscientious staff member? After all, every year hundreds of thousands of crimes are discovered, every minute thousands of policemen are prepared to enter into one-on-one fighting with armed criminals, to go forward, risking their lives against bullets and knives. In the name of saving your life and mine, let me note, and preserving our tranquility and well-being.

Of course, there are still shortcomings—and at times serious ones—in our country. One encounters in our ranks degenerates, demagogues, red tape advocates, and those who are simply inattentive to the needs of the people around them, hard-hearted, irresponsible staff members. Of course, all the cataclysms which occurred during the stagnant period in our society were reflected, to one degree or another, in our police as well. Otherwise, there would not have been something like the Churbanovskiy trial.

Nor let's lose track of the fact that public opinion at the present time has swung far in the direction against the police's authority. This was likewise a consequence of the fact that, using the slogans of democracy, glasnost, increasing social activity, expanding human rights and liberties, elements began to raise their heads desiring to transform democracy into anarchy and social activity into anti-socialist activity.... They are also attempting to present the desirable as the actual: the correct actions of the police arbitrary actions and a violation of democracy.

[Nikipelov] And it seems that, under these conditions, some of the police staff members were trembling inwardly.

[Gladush] Why hide it? Under the circumstance which evolved some of our staff members were patently shaky and nervous. They not only ceased being active; in many cases they began to be overly cautious. Why has this happened? To my way of thinking, above all, because under the present-day conditions which are so complicated for working, they sense more and more frequently their own...lack of protection. Nowadays—under the conditions of creating a state of law—police staff members need new legal documents which would precisely and multifacetedly regulate their activity, rights, and obligations.

Say, for example, they encounter unsanctioned demonstrations or meetings. What measures should the police undertake so that these events may not take place? It is often the case that conflict situations arise here. And, of course, in such cases every step, every action by a policeman must be regulated and legitimized. Or let's touch upon the question of our colleagues' use of a weapon. There are moments when they must use one immediately. But in accordance with the charter, a policeman must first issue a warning, so to speak, by voice, then fire a warning shot, and only after all this can he shoot at the criminal. There are times when such a sequential performance of this entire procedure ends tragically for our staff member.

[Nikipelov] After the publication in PRAVDA UKRAINY of the correspondence entitled "A Reward for Courage" (2 February), the editors received a touching letter from Odessa from M.G. Lysenko, a woman on a pension. Our reader approved the fact that, in addition to the reward, the courageous policeman was also offered

an apartment. And how do matters stand, in general, with regard to providing policemen with housing?

[Gladush] Not so good. For example, we studied the working and living conditions of our precinct inspectors. In many cities and settlements the problems of providing them with housing are solved only with great difficulties. Moreover, one out of every four precinct inspector in Volyn, as well as in Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, and Kherson oblasts is not provided with even a service area. It is obviously not by chance that on a questionnaire half of the precinct inspectors expressed their lack of desire to continue working in such a position.

[Nikipelov] By the way, who is hired for employment in the police and how is this done? Is there some sort of competitive winnowing-out process in this connection?

[Gladush] Our principal influx is recruitment from workers and the army, especially from among army landing-troops, who have undergone a good toughening-up process. They come to us when sent by labor collectives, and they have a very diverse profile as to specializations in the national economy. But the trouble is that quite a significant number of these recruits soon leave.

[Nikipelov] Why?

[Gladush] First of all, to my way of thinking, because of the existing, quite lightweight concept about the difficulties and specifics of our service. This is work at times without days off, if the operational circumstances require it, and a non-standard working day, and a substantial loss of wages for many persons, and, finally, the falling prestige of this occupation....

Quite recently I had to go down into the Mine imeni Gazeta SOTSILISTICHESKIY DONBASS in order to apologize for some incorrect actions on the part of one of our staff members. I had to listen to many frank words directed at the police. But, I said to them, you could also help to strengthen our ranks by sending us some of your honest, principled, and reliable kids. You know your own personnel well. At this point someone spoke up. Fine, he said, but what are the wages? A policeman in the patrolman-guard service, I answered, makes a beginning wage of 150 rubles a month. As a reply, I heard an ironic chuckle: But we here, who take the same risks, receive several times that much....

You yourself can understand that with such wages a genuine competitive selection could not be arranged. The wages, for example, of a rank-in-file or junior command staff member are 80 rubles less than the average worker's wages in our republic. There is nothing we can use to attract a well-educated, intelligent person to our service. And hence the crudeness and incompetence....

As you see, many problems have piled up in the police life. But previously we attempted to do everything so

that you would know nothing about them. It's possible that it was not necessary to conceal all this from the public. In any case, today we decided to turn it open and frankly for support. Because, after all, we are protecting vital interests.

[Nikipelov] Comrade Minister, in this matter you can count on the support of the press.

[Gladush] Thank you.

**Work of Airport Security Service Examined**  
*18000750 Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian*  
*22 Feb 89 p 3*

[Report by RATAU Correspondent V. Vernodubenko: "A Service That Has No Days Off"]

[Text] Borispol Airport. Separated by brief intervals, passenger liners take off from the airport runway for all parts of the Soviet Union, as well as abroad. Many different specialists are involved in preparing and executing the flights. Among them, are also some who, until recently, were written about very rarely. They ensure flight security and check passengers and baggage. For example, the inspection service.

Lt Col K. M. Boyko, director of the Ukrainian SSR MVD Administration of Internal Affairs for Transport Political Department, acquainted me with the work of this unusual section. Taking advantage of a pause during which one of the areas from which passengers usually proceed to the airplanes was vacant, Kuzma Maksimovich told me how the work is organized.

The inspection group, known here as a crew, consists of representatives of Aeroflot and militia officers of the regular Borispol Airport internal affairs department.

Yu. A. Slepchenko, deputy commander of the Borispol aviation brigade, demonstrated how the metal detectors and x-ray television machines work. There is also a unique machine that can detect a single molecule of explosive, gunpowder, or dynamite in one cubic meter of air.

Why do they equip this service so well here? The unusual "collection" that the police officers showed us could serve as an answer to that question. It consists of real pistols and so-called imitator weapons (which is to say a weapon made in the form of a lighter, for example), various types of side arms, gunpowder in the most varied types of packaging, explosives, plastic mines, and much more. Special mention should also be made of those who try to take aboard highly flammable liquids such as alcohol, as well as homebrew and even stills.

Col V. F. Gruyenko, director of the Ukrainian Internal Affairs Administration for Transport, said: "We militia officers believe that the press provides great help to our specialists. A year ago, for example, our administration

held a press conference at which journalists were told how some passengers try to take aboard alcoholic beverages, including homebrew, and what kind of punishment awaits such people. The journalists soon cited that information in the press. A year has now gone by, and we can report that, in 1988, officers of the inspection service found in passengers' baggage 3,000 liters less of that poison than in the previous year.

As we left the airport we found out that yet another passenger had tried to take a highly flammable liquid aboard a plane but had been detained. So the inspection service has plenty of work to do. It won't have occasion to grow slack.

**U.S. Police Visit Soviet Counterparts**  
*18000841 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian*  
*16 Mar 89 p 5*

[Article by Yu. Trefilov: "The Sheriff From New York"]

[Text] In the conference hall where employees of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs usually hold businesslike colloquia, at the conference table sat... a sheriff from New York. And alongside him sat another couple of dozen police officers, attorneys, detectives, and other specialists from U.S. law enforcement agencies. Snowy white, sky blue, and black uniform shirts. Shoulder straps, medals, sheriff's stars, chevrons, and colorful tabs testifying to the assembled company's affiliation with American agencies of justice and law enforcement.

"Good morning!" a general with greying hair said heartily, making an unexpected entrance into the hall. And the guests had scarcely had time to get a proper look at the head of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs before Anatoliy Alekseyevich Kurkov was introducing himself in beautiful English.

For over five minutes he spoke in English, then, seeming to hesitate, glanced at the Leningrad journalists and added:

"So as not to leave our newsmen with nothing to do, I'll continue in Russian."

And the hall rang with amicable applause.

The interpreter took over, but the Americans, struck by the erudition of the Soviet chief of police, scrutinized his frank face with interest.

And the conversation promptly took on a tone of professional frankness. Without papers or notes, Anatoliy Alekseyevich gave the kind of examples and cited the kind of striking figures that only yesterday were securely locked away even from our journalists.

The General talked about the structure of the central directorate that had been entrusted to him, about the activity of each of its administrations, about the role of

precinct inspectors, and about the regime at Kresty. And he did not try to conceal problems associated with the current restructuring in this country.

"We are perfectly aware that there can be no return to the past," A. A. Kruchkov emphasized. "The task is to find new methods of combating law-breakers under present conditions. We are disturbed by the growth of crime among young people, the increase in apartment burglaries. The Leningrad militia punishes over 300,000 individuals annually for drunkenness. Admittedly, that number includes drunks who are detained 10 to 19 times. More than 40 percent of the crimes, half the murders, and almost three-quarters of the rapes are committed because of people's drinking. We are starting to see crimes linked with extortion. On 14 March, quite literally, officers detained four former athletes who were collecting a take from waiters in one restaurant and from women of easy virtue. Several similar groups had been arrested prior to that."

The General gave a detailed account of meetings and demonstrations in Leningrad, of the Union of Democracy and Memory groups and other associations. Hiding nothing, he shared his impressions of what had happened the Sunday before at the Kazan Cathedral.

Anatoliy Alekseyevich devoted part of his address to working links between the mass media and militia agencies. As examples, he mentioned the "Brief Line" feature in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA and the daily radio interview with the Chief Administration of Internal Affairs duty officer.

The General answered all the trickiest questions. And then an exchange of views began: how is it over there, how is it over here? For example, the fine for driving under the influence of alcohol in New York is 3500 dollars. And all the proceeds from that go to the struggle against alcohol abuse. If a drunk driver hits and kills a pedestrian, the culprit is sentenced to 20 years in prison.

"How often do American police officers use their weapons?"

"Certainly not all the time, like you see in the movies," came the reply. "But every year 75 police officers fall victim to armed criminals. Between 300 and 500 felons die each year in shoot-outs with the police."

The guests provided some interesting information on the technological back-up for the guardians of the law, about the computers and data processors used in police stations, about legal defence and police officers' salaries. In conclusion, they expressed a wish to exchange professional experience with their Soviet colleagues.

I asked one of the guests to say a few words to the readers of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA about the American

police officers' visit to our country. The chief of police at the East Aurora precinct in New York State, Lieutenant William Nye, said:

"We have been to Tallin, Pskov, and Moscow. For three days we will be familiarizing ourselves with Leningrad, with the work done by your militia, which in technical terms lags far behind our police force. The enormous amount of information we have been given has radically changed our previous conceptions, which we gleaned from movies and the press. Nowhere were professional secrets hidden from us. And this permits us to view the future with optimism. After all, the police is the police everywhere. They tackle the selfsame tasks. This is why a mutual exchange of information can only serve to strengthen law and order. I think that the time has come for cooperation on issues of law enforcement. And, of course, we are delighted with General Kurkov, with his erudition and professional abilities. In three hours he gave us a splendid lesson in Soviet glasnost. It only remains to add that this trip was organized by "For Soviet-American Relations," our tourist agency.

**Environmental Impact on Infant Mortality**  
*18300548 Moscow SEMYA in Russian No 13,*  
*27 Mar-2 Apr 89 pp 6-7*

[Article by L. Salina: "Is It Easy To Be Born?"]

[Text] Until recently it was believed that pregnancy and birth were natural processes, a woman should give birth to a healthy baby, this was predetermined by nature. But births have begun to provide "offal" with increasing frequency, the percentage of stillborns has increased catastrophically. And today we are justified in asking physicians the question: is it easy to be born?

#### Number of Babies Born Alive and Dead

	Live		Dead
	Boys	Girls	Boys and Girls
1985	119,969	121,249	1,280
1986	125,713	123,077	1,364
1987	125,409	126,730	1,321

While still in the mother's womb, a baby is sensitive to all the changes and shortages in its environment. And although we, adults, can explain, for example, why there is a shortage of this or that foodstuff, a baby, who is far from the diplomacy of our economy, cannot understand this, but reacts with lightening speed. Although we may find the daily quarrels in communal apartments and unending lines merely exhausting, they simply kill him. It is probably no accident that ten percent of women who are forced to find shelter in dormitories give birth to stillborn babies.

This situation cannot fail to alert scientists who are proposing a new direction in obstetrics - perinatology,

which is concerned with studying the process of pregnancy and the first seven days of the postnatal period. In our country, particular attention has been directed toward this trend in the last five years. The results of the research have made it possible to discover the reasons for such a high infant death rate. And, unfortunately, the reasons are not few.

A great deal can be read about the heartlessness and low qualifications of our physicians. This fact is difficult to dispute. Who of us has not had to encounter one of the other of these "specialists". This situation may have incited the Ministry of Public Health to begin reviewing the programs at the medical VUZes. But we are in no hurry to lay the blame. How terrible it is to occasionally get a physician who knows how to treat an ailment, but is unable to due to the lack of necessary equipment or instruments. To rephrase a well-known expression, it can be said: "Humiliation generates humiliation." And is it not humiliating for our gynecologists and obstetricians to work for a mere pittance, sometimes without the most elementary equipment and normal working conditions? Let us recall how much our physician, the head of the family, makes? In England, for example, this type of work is paid three thousand pounds a month (approximately three thousand rubles). Of course, I am rushing ahead by calling it "this type" of work. How can we compare the torture of our physician with the work of a western specialist?

Recently, I had the opportunity to see with my own eyes a woman who discovered, soon after the birth of her child, that he was incurably sick. Down's syndrome. For nine long torturous months she had awaited the birth of a son or daughter, not suspecting that the damage had already been done. Nine months! While in western countries it is possible to determine the slightest physical or mental defect on the 28th day of pregnancy, not to mention the fact that the birth of such a child is an extraordinary event. Physicians can be prosecuted. In our country, 18 so-called Down's syndrome babies are born every year per thousand healthy births. They constitute not only moral, but also significant financial losses. The care of one Down's syndrome child costs 50 thousand rubles a year. Now multiply this figure by the number of sick children - does the total make an impression?

Quite recently, a new method of ultrasound analysis was introduced into our practice. The employees in maternity hospitals and maternal consultation offices are rejoicing: finally a modern procedure has come to the aid of traditional gloves and the stethoscope. But I think the joy is premature. In Moscow, only 32 of the 56 maternal consultation offices are equipped with ultrasound machines. Most of them are domestic with far from flattering reputations. The equipment is extremely inconvenient to operate and very short-lived, say specialists. Consequently, of the 32 machines called upon to serve our women, less than two dozen work. This number for the millions of women living in Moscow! The rate

at which equipment is supplied also leaves much to be desired. Last year the maternity hospitals and maternal consultation offices received a total of three ultrasound machines. And we should remember that Moscow is a capital. It is easy to imagine what the situation must be in other cities. In comparison: every maternal consultation office in England has ultrasound and several other diagnostic machines. We either do not manufacture this kind of equipment domestically, or its quality is too low, we refrain from the purchase of imported equipment, explaining this by the lack of hard currency. Of course, 80 thousand dollars (this is the price of an ultrasound machine) is no small amount. But it is less than 50 thousand rubles multiplied by hundreds of patients, plus the moral losses which cannot be compensated for. Thus, perhaps it would be worth refraining from multimillion projects and allotting the necessary amount to the construction of an extremely necessary perinatal center - one million non-exchangeable rubles? Do not worry, physicians maintain that in 2-3 years it will have completely paid itself off and with be operating at a profit. Finally, it should be considered for who's sake we are doing this. And we need to hurry, it is time to run, in order to lower the infant death rate once and for all.

The reasons for infant mortality cannot be explained by the lack of equipment alone. The word "production line" became well established in medical jargon a long time ago. There are catastrophically few maternity hospitals. Moscow, with its multimillion population, has a total of 36. For example, in the Sovetskiy Rayon, which has a population of 600 thousand (which is equal to a large oblast center), there is only one maternity hospital in operation, and no changes are foreseen in the next five-year plan. You can imagine the burden on the physician and his attitude toward the matter when instead of the authorized 10 births, he is forced to accept 30, or even more. In this situation, there is no time for smiles or kind words.

A great deal has been written about the condition of our maternity hospitals. And what is there to write when almost every woman has been through this "experience". There is no medication. No beds. Everyone has become accustomed to this already. In some republics it is worse - there is no water or electricity! How can we talk about sterility when a woman has to lie in the corridor in danger of becoming infected from constant contact with germ carriers. We are not talking about special wards, but simply about wards capable of taking all those who want to. Look at the outer appearance of maternity hospitals. They look more like condemned barracks, than buildings where new life is being born.

Equally important social reasons can be added to the economic ones mentioned.

One of them is migration to the city from rural areas. Every year several hundred inhabitants from the villages and regional centers move to the city, which provides an easy way to solve the difficult problem of shortage of



manpower. The matter appears harmless. But this is one of the reasons for perinatal mortality. A woman who moves to the city is usually unable to carry a child to full term. For example, in a mother who moved to the city approximately three years ago the danger of having a still birth increases five-fold. The reason - poor adaptation of the pregnant woman to stressful urban living conditions. Twenty percent of Muscovites are from other cities. It is these very people, specialists believe, who constitute the main percentage of infant mortality.

It is no secret that the ecological state of our cities, particularly the industrial regions, has much to be desired. Without fresh air, there can be no healthy child - any physician knows this commandment. Dust, excess gasification and noise are the reasons for babies being born with raised intracranial pressure. This may be the reason that in Moscow alone 513 babies died of congenital defects in 1985, 618 in 1986 and 593 in 1987. I still have not mentioned the physical condition of the pregnant woman herself, who for nine months has been enjoying the fruits of "civilization". Let us trace the path of the ordinary city-dweller as she goes from home to work. She often has to take two modes of public transportation. This is not easy even for a healthy person. What must it be like for a pregnant one?

The normal course of pregnancy and, consequently, the birth of a healthy infant depend on various psychological factors. A large percentage of infant mortality is attributed to pregnancy out of wedlock and so-called "unwanted pregnancy". In our country, most families have very little idea about birth control. And as a result, thousands of abortions are performed. In Moscow, almost half the women under 25 years of age has had one to three abortions. This results in infertility or difficulty during pregnancy in 20 percent of the cases.

There are family planning services in more than 120 countries of the world. They do not yet exist in our country. We do not belong to either a European or an international federation of family planning. But the ever-increasing number of abortions is not only a psychological problem but also an economic one. One abortion costs the country 93 rubles. You must agree, this is no small sum. Take this money and put it towards the construction of another (and yet another!) plant which manufactures prophylactics. It is still difficult to get condoms. There are no imported ones. And the quantity, not to mention the quality, of ours is pathetic.

I think physicians should become more active and carry out propagandistic and explanatory work. Can the work of a total of three Marriage and Family consultation offices really meet the needs of the women of Moscow? There should be similar consultation offices in every region. There is very little literature for future mothers. The reason is typical - a shortage of paper. At the same time, a multitude of inventory registers are being generated with amazing speed and thousands of copies of books, which, to put it mildly, are not in demand, are

being published. So the pregnant woman and young mother take advantage of the services of the "corrupted telephone" or "underground literature", which should have become officially accepted a long time ago.

Finally, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a decree concerning "The Expansion of Benefits to Working Pregnant Women with Underage Children." A decision was made to direct 30-40 percent of the assignments for public health toward obstetrics (previously this was a total of only 8-13 percent). Additional funds for the construction of maternity hospitals are being allotted. Government budget assignments to public health have been increased 20-fold! Finally, the birth of a healthy child has become a government issue.

### **Latvian Health Official on Reasons for Republic's Low Birth Rate**

*18000851 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 6*

[Interview with S.S. Khartmane, head of the Administration of Preventive Medical Aid for Children and Mothers of the Latvian SSR Ministry of Public Health conducted by staff correspondent D. Fonarev: "For Those Who Will Be Born Tomorrow."]

[Text] Miscarriage is currently an urgent problem throughout the entire world. Not only the medical but also the social aspect is directly connected with the natural growth in the population and improvement in the qualitative structure of society. Our republic is no exception in this case. Despite the rather low infant death rate (10.8 per 1,000 in Latvia), the natural population growth is extremely small - only 3.4 per 1,000 in 1988. Our correspondent discussed the reasons for this situation, as well as demographic prospects, with the head of the Administration of Preventive Medical Aid for Children and Mothers, S. S. Khartmane.

[Fonarev] Sarmite Salomovna, when explaining the extremely low natural population growth in the republic, we talk, among other things, about the large number of miscarriages . . .

[Khartmane] The latest statistics indicate that out of 100 pregnancies in the republic, six percent are spontaneously aborted prior to term. In Riga, this figure is 6.4 percent. The number of normal births has decreased catastrophically. Only 20-25 percent of births today occur without pathologies. The number of genuinely sick newborns has increased. Seventeen out of 100. Perinatal developmental defects of the fetus and newborn, i.e. those associated with the health of the parent's bodies, are the primary cause, as well as incompatibility between the mother and fetus with respect to the Rhesus factor or the AVO [not further identified] system. And I have not included those who die while still in the mother's womb.

[Fonarev] How do you explain such depressing figures?

[Khartmane] You see, we can talk a great deal about the main reasons. The situation will not change until the basic socioeconomic problems are solved. The future mother and future father work under unhealthy production conditions, drink unhealthy water, breathe unhealthy air and eat unhealthy bread . . . This all gradually accumulates, and here is the result.

First we build a chemical plant, a new shop, a new nuclear power plant, and then science begins to investigate the harm this industry may bring. But while science is investigating and determining the degree of harm, it is already being wrought. Prevention is useless. Today, we have reached the point where our gene pool has been ruined and immunogenesis has been ruined. The defense mechanism of the human body has been reduced. And the immunological link is the main interconnection between the fetus and the mother's body. If immunogenesis is destroyed, pathology occurs. As a result, we have a vicious circle: sick newborn, sick child, sick parents, sick fetus, etc.

Even if we imagine a miracle - instantaneous resolution of all ecological problems and purification of the environment, this will not be of any immediate help. The gene pool has already been ruined. For this reason, prevention alone will not work. The depressing figures can only be combated by organizing a powerful center for the health protection of mothers, the fetus and newborn. As a matter of fact, we are working on this right now.

[Fonarev] As far as I understand, this situation did not arise today, and the republic has needed the center for a long time. What has been the delay?

[Khartmane] Well, you know, the usual. Until now, financing for this type of start has only been possible with an order from the USSR Ministry of Public Health.

[Fonarev] And now?

[Khartmane] Now the order has been received. Although, on the whole, it is rather ridiculous. We have been asked to organize a perinatal center by joining buildings which already exist. One would think that if we artificially joined a maternal consultation office, maternity hospital and pediatric clinic under one roof and called it a center, our situation would immediately change. I did not mention that the order we received did not have any financial backing ...

[Fonarev] But this order did not come to Latvia in particular for nothing did it?

[Khartmane] The order was sent to all the republics. In this respect we are no exception. The fact that we were more prepared is another matter. As early as the beginning of last year, a long time before the order, we had conceived the idea of creating at least one department in Riga for the detoxification and immunocorrection of

pregnant women and newborns at the 1st Riga Maternity Hospital. The idea received immediate support from the republic's minister of public health, Academician V. Kanep, and was developed in detail with the assistance of Deputy Minister E. Platkays and head physician of the 1st Riga Maternity Hospital, A. Tsaune. Due to the active and persistent work of coworkers from the department for the protection of maternity and childhood of the Central Scientific Research Laboratory of RMI [expansion unknown], Ye. Bykova and A. Groshev, in October of last year, the idea was transformed into the conception of a Latvian center for the health protection of mothers and children.

The essence of the conception is this: to join an immunological laboratory and republic medical-genetic consultation office, which are already in operation at the 1st Riga Maternity Hospital, and a department of detoxification and immunocorrection, which is taking the first interesting steps, under the supervision of Doctor Groshev. An outpatient polyclinic will be included in the center, as well as a day hospital for those coming to be examined from other regions of Latvia. All of this, plus the new methods which have been developed and are being developed by our specialists, is making it possible for us to help all the unfortunate families in our republic who have had miscarriages, given birth to children with various deformities and much more.

[Fonarev] What is detoxification and immunocorrection?

[Khartmane] To put it very simply, it is the removal of toxic substances from the body, restoration of the function of vitally important organs and raising the defense mechanisms of the body...

[Fonarev] I still have to ask when we are going to see the center in operation.

[Khartmane] That is a very difficult question. Our idea is supported by the leading scientists in Latvia and the USSR on this issue. The idea was met with understanding in the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party. However, this has not simplified the solving of organizational problems. Our state building organizations are extremely poor. Therefore, a decision was made to draw up a plan and build on the basis of cost accounting with the share participation of interested organizations, departments and enterprises, i.e. those who are able to understand the importance of the problem for Latvia. Something has already been accomplished. But a great deal is in the area of hopes. We are hoping for the support of the State Planning Committee. We are expecting a decision concerning construction from the Riga architectural administration. In addition, we are asking the largest branches of industry who deliver sick women to us for assistance. We have poured out our hearts to the chairman of the republic committee of the trade union of the textile and light industry, L. Upmale. Unfortunately, an answer has

not been forthcoming. We have been waiting several months already. A similar letter was sent to the chairman of the republic committee of the trade union of the chemical and petrochemical industry, B. Zaychenko. Here, the results were more favorable. They promised to provide financial aid. There was even a conversation about hard currency, which we are in great need of for obtaining suitable equipment. Our most profitable contact has been with the Republic Children's Fund. Nevertheless, even the smallest problems are being solved at an extremely slow rate.

[Fonarev] If people wanted to help the center with contributions, what should they do?

[Khartmane] Anyone who cares about the fate of the future generations of Latvia can send money to Opera Zhilsotsbank, Riga, Latvian Children's Fund account No. 707, marked "For the construction of the Center for the Health Protection of Mothers and Children."

The author asks that contributions be sent to account No 707.

#### **Lithuanian Foundation Active in National Renewal**

18000968a Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
17 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Gerimantas Tarvidas, the chairman of the Lithuanian Cultural foundation, by APN Correspondent V.Mikulichus: "Project 'Return' and Others"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Culture Foundation was established approximately two years ago. Today, it is a major public organization; it has earned the respect of the population. Its activity was described by the foundation's chairman Gerimantas Tarvidas in this interview with an APN correspondent.

[Tarvidas] Our efforts are primarily directed at promoting and developing national culture. The foundation organizes benefit concerts featuring performers and companies known well beyond the republic's borders. Profits from such concerts allow us to invest into major social projects. One of them is project "Return", whose aim is to return to the republic works of art scattered all over the world.

At first, Lithuanians emigres viewed this idea with some distrust. They doubted that the works would get to their native land and would be exhibited at the republic's museums. The process of democratization and glasnost has dispelled these doubts. Important Lithuanian cultural figures abroad, including artists Vitautas Kazimieras Joninas, Vitautas Kashuba and Viktoras Vizgirda had shows in Lithuania and left some of their works here. These individuals, who are highly respected in artistic circles, helped strengthen the trust between Soviet Lithuania and emigres. Now our foundation has over

300 representatives in various countries actively participating in project "Return".

The Lithuanian foundation organizes not only art shows but auctions as well. The first one featured over 200 works. Seventy percent of works were sold and the organization earned R23,000.

The foundation is concerned with preserving and promoting not only Lithuanian culture but also the cultures of other nationalities in Lithuania: we have set up a Russian Center, assistance groups for Polish, Belorussian, Tartar, Karaim, Jewish and other cultures. Interestingly enough, Tartars and Karaims, who settled in Lithuania over 500 years ago, have been able to preserve their language and customs. In Vilnius and Kaunas, a successful exhibition of the art of Lithuanian Jews has been held. The Vilnius city ispolkom has allocated a former cinema to be used as a museum of Lithuanian Jewish history; Karaims have been given back their old building which will house a permanent exhibit detailing the original lifestyle and culture of that nationality. The Russian cultural center and the Polish and Belorussian organizations have received their own space.

Recently, a Lithuanian interethnic coordinating committee has been set up, comprised of all cultural groups and associations of ethnic minorities living in the republic. Its founders are hoping to unite ethnic public movements in the republic and improve and strengthen interethnic relations.

Due to continuous support of the population, the Lithuanian Cultural Foundation is constantly growing richer. It was able to make a donation of R300,000 for the reconstruction of the lower fortress of Vilnius, the site of the future national gallery. The foundation contributed R200,000 for the monument to the founder of Lithuania's capital Gediminas and endowed several scholarships for art institute and musical conservatory students. We sent eight students to Tbilisi, to the cinema institute. We hope that having studied the fascinating experience of Georgian filmmakers, they would help restore the prestige of our own cinema.

The Lithuanian Cultural Foundation cooperates with the cultural foundations in Moscow, Belorussia, Latvia and Estonia. We are also planning to establish international contacts.

#### **Moscow's Economic Woes Intensified by Crime**

18000968b Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian  
6 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by V.Buryakina: "Shadow Economy" ]

[Text] Those who attended the meeting of the presidium of the Control and Inspection Commission (KRK) of the CPSU's Moscow Organization were far from happy to hear the report of presidium member V.Prokhorov. The issue discussed at the meeting is one of the most pressing

and painful ones for our city. communists-managers of Moscow city territorial and commercial retail association Mosgortorg, fruit and vegetable retail association Glavmosplodovoshcheprom, the Moscow bread retail association, Moscow city retail association Mosgorpo and a number of Prodtovary retail trade associations had to answer for serious shortcomings in consumer service. Facts and figures cited by the speaker clearly showed that violations of the law, ranging from shortchanging and deceiving customers to selling on the side and concealing goods in high demand, are on the rise. It is enough to mention that in 1988 the number of so-called greed-related crimes rose 11 percent from the previous year—plus another 7.7 percent in the first two months of this year compared to the same period of 1988.

But these figures would not surprise anyone any more. We all see the same picture almost every day: empty shelves, bored sales clerks or, on the contrary, endless lines comprised of irritated people exhausted after chasing all over the city after basic products. For instance, the majority of those who live or work in Kievskiy Rayon are currently unable to purchase 25 kinds of goods. Is the existing situation merely the result of breakdowns in the distribution chain, shortages of funds or transportation bottlenecks? Numerous spot checks conducted recently in the city's retail trade network have shown that dishonest store employees who hide goods that are in demand, selling them to black marketeers and businessmen of the shadow economy, greatly contribute to growing shortages.

Unfortunately, it has been difficult to investigate and find proof for every occurrence or for every complaint submitted by Moscovites. Cooperation is still lacking among various inspecting entities, including the People's Control Commission, the State Retail Trade Inspection Commission and people's, workers' and industry control entities; they poorly coordinate their activity with that of law enforcement agencies. Sometimes the same store is checked by different commissions several times a month, making its staff nervous. At the same time, control commissions are often unable to submit proper and timely reports on violations they have uncovered. The loophole allowing some retail employees to profit from food products in high demand which are reserved for Moscovites' holiday tables and advanced orders departments has not been closed.

In short, the situation is alarming. It would seem that in under these conditions communists working in the system, party secretaries and elected grassroot bodies would show themselves. Yet, as KRK Chairman T.Arkipova stated at the meeting, they are surprisingly ineffective. Party and bureau meetings rarely discuss various violations or hear management's reports. This climate of tolerance and complacency strengthens further the sense of impunity and permissiveness among dishonest retail employees. Some store directors and other bonded employees have had 7 or 10 administrative convictions, or even more, and yet party organizations remain silent.

In some cases persons previously tried or fired from previous jobs continue to hold positions of responsibility in the same network.

The discussion at the KRK presidium meeting was long and unpleasant. Not all communists-managers of major retail trade organizations and ordinary store directors were self-critical enough. The favorite excuse citing objective difficulties is no longer enough. "The food problem," noted CPSU Moscow Gorkom secretary V.Byelyaninov who was taking part in the meeting, "has long become a political problem." This is the reason why this issue was raised by the KRK.

The Moscow party organization's KRK presidium ruled that the question of the party responsibility for mistakes and shortcomings in retail services of Mosgortorg's first deputy director V.Fedorchenko, Glavmosplodovoshcheprom's deputy director S.Ayvazyan, Mosgorpo Association's Chairman A.Korshunov, Kievskiy Rayon Produkty association's director Z.Rubtsova and directors of the association's store No.42 A.Babayeva and of Mosgorpo's store No 22 A.Limbergskiy should be considered separately.

It was announced that the KRKs of rayon party organizations would review the issue of responsibility of other communists-managers who have not been diligent enough in carrying out their duties and responsibilities in providing retail services to consumers.

#### **Ukrainian Helsinki Association Subversive Activities Described**

18000972 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
24 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by M. Derimov: "UGS and UKhS Are One and the Same"]

[Text] A correspondent's conversation with a reader concerning a leaflet displayed in Podol.

A reader called the editorial office and asked what UGS is.

—The same as UKhS, I answered.

—The Ukrainian Helsinki Union which you wrote about?

—Yes, the same "Ukrainska gelsinska spilka" [name rendered in Ukrainian]. The point is that people from this group write not "Khelsinska" but "gelsinska," contrary to the standard Ukrainian spelling.

—You know, just now I discovered a leaflet near the bazar at Podol which was signed by the UGS. It said on it that it is a rights-protection organization with a program based on the Final Act of the All-European Conference in Helsinki. Well, in a word, it implies that like you and I, it supports the Helsinki agreements,

human rights, freedom of expression [movu—rendered in the Ukrainian], and ecology. There is nothing about its intention to divide the population of the republic into citizens and non-citizens, about the “drastic overhaul” of our state system and the like. That is why I thought the UGS is something different than the UKhS.

“I assure you that UKhS and UGS are one and the same. The other day Radio Liberty defined the real program of this group. The American “voice” reported that the UKhS members unanimously approved the “platform” of its chairman Lyovka Lukyanenko, in which he calls for the full separation of the Ukraine from the USSR. The speeches of these people on Radio Liberty and in foreign nationalistic publications is by no means in keeping with the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, but rather with the inciting slogan of the Banderavites who are entrenched in the West - “Kiev versus Moscow.”

—Does it turn out that the real goals of the UKhS are not revealed in the leaflet? That they stuck this paper on the wall in order to crudely deceive uninformed people?

—Yes, that’s what it is.

—Come to think about it, the very name of this organization is a fraud: it is in no way a Helsinki group, rather the most real Banderavites.

—Portraits of the UKhS members and “information from the Ukraine” which they supply are seen time and again in the organ of the Bandera OUN - the newspaper SHLYAKH PEREMOGI, which is published in Munich.

—But listen to what else is written here! The UKhS pretends to want to set up in some electoral districts their observers or control “posts” during the forthcoming elections of People’s Deputies of the USSR.

—Let’s analyze this question. Indeed, according to the law, representatives of public organizations may attend meetings of the electoral commissions in accordance with established procedure. But is the UKhS a public organization? No, of course not. They are, as a matter of fact, a group of people working for foreign employers - the voice of the CIA, Radio Liberty, and the OUN information service. No matter how hard the UKhS members try to hang on to genuine public organizations and the various independent or so-called informal organizations, they cannot conceal the obvious fact to which the many hours of daily broadcasts of Radio Liberty give evidence.

—However representatives of the press may also be present at the electoral districts.

—Yes, the UKhS members may be considered correspondents of foreign information media, hostile to our country, hostile to the restructuring that is going on.

But in the first place these correspondents are not legally accredited in our country. And secondly, look at their “journalistic work”: nearly always they themselves provoke those events which they later report to their foreign benefactors.

—As I understand it, they are paid off in goods which are in short supply and which are brought in from abroad.

—Yes, we have already written about this. I will cite one more typical example. Not long ago, Oksana Meshko, who lives in Kiev and who is one of the founding members of the OKhS, was on a visit in the West. On her return she paid duties of 2250 rubles for “gifts” she brought in - videocameras, dictophones, radio receivers, calculators, and so on. It is as clear as can be that these “gifts” are in fact fees for the UKhS. Besides, “Lady” Meshko tried to bring in the latest documents and instructions of the OUN Banderavites, who are dreaming as before about bloodshed on Ukrainian soil - and incidentally, the documents were disguised as Soviet agricultural pamphlets.

—I noticed that you always equate Radio Liberty and the foreign Banderavite center. Is there really any connection between them?

—Up to this day a certain Anatoliy Kaminskiy is working in the post of editor in chief of the Ukrainian service of Radio Liberty. In 1941, during Hitler’s occupation, he served as a gestapo interpreter in the village of Tatarov (now the village of Kremetsy in Ivano-Frankovskaya oblast). After that he went through training at one of the Abwehr’s fascist schools. The former Nazi, Mr. Kaminskiy, in his green years and up to now - from 1939 to 1989 - has been an active member of the Bandera OUN. It was he who tried recently to wash away the blood of innocent people from the UPA cutthroats in a series of broadcasts.

—Why doesn’t the Soviet press report this?

—It did report it. NEDELYA No 31 for 1986, for example, devoted a very well-reasoned article to this individual.

—How do the Americans view it that now, in the period of improving relations between the USSR and the USA, a leading position in its Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe is occupied by such an odious person?

—This question should be put to the current chief of RL and RFE, Eugene Pell. And also to the members of Congress who appropriated \$200 million to these radio stations this year...

—Here’s another thing I noticed, said my caller. In its leaflet the UGS tells our voters to spoil the ballots. How should we understand such advice?

—As the usual attempt by Radio Liberty to interfere in our internal affairs. Apparently it has already been decided not to call for this openly across the airwaves. Rather they prefer to act on the sly through the hands of their mercenaries from the UKhS.

### **Ukrainian Youth Group 'Next Stop' Has International Ties**

18110077 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian  
2 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Tamara Kutsai: "Next Stop' Copenhagen or the Medicine For Inertness and Indifference."]

[Text] Before beginning their conversation, the participants of the "Next Stop" international movement, Sasha Zuzin and Oleg Tyshkevich (10th grade students of the Kiev No 204 High School) wished to present an appeal they prepared for the youth of the republic. They became coordinators of the international movement in the Ukraine only a few days ago and wanted to make certain they could deliver this message: "If you are still young and want to make a mark in life, if you are bothered by ecological problems, you too can become a member of the 'Next Stop' international movement."

After a brief official exchange they also addressed the business managers of enterprises and cooperatives: "If your enterprise needs international advertising, if you intend to sell goods in world markets, you can become a sponsor of "Next Stop," in which the youth of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and the USSR all participate."

So, the conversation began on a businesslike note. And its beginning demonstrated for the first time the obvious prestige and large-scale nature of this movement. Second, the youngsters presented themselves as goal-oriented and enthusiastic supporters of the movement.

They learned the details about the movement and its history during a recent trip to Moscow to attend a "Next Stop" conference. They took with them a project which, despite limited openings, was without hesitation included in the conference based on principles of consensus (a unanimous decision). By the way, immediately after that Sasha Zuzin was chosen as a member of the movement coordinating council representing the Ukraine.

Can you imagine: one day such a diligent Soviet school-boy or student buys a ticket and goes on a visit...to Copenhagen. And—what is really even more unbelievable—without unnecessary "red tape." Is it not fantastic and incredible? Sasha and Oleg denied objections raised to their project "City to City" (which by the way foresees very broad application) by proving that currency free exchanges between schools and educational institutions can be reliably guaranteed.

It is finally necessary to show foreign countries the Soviet people as they are. "There" we are still considered to be people with strongly clenched teeth dreaming about a bright future.

Partners for such a currency free exchange program have already been found. They are the Danish people. During the Moscow conference the schoolboys made the acquaintance of a sympathetic female representative of the "Next Stop" movement from Denmark, Milly. Later, they found out that she had wanted for a long time to meet representatives from the Ukraine. "This is a good thing," she said with a pleasant smile to the boys when they met. That is how matters stand: Danish representatives have no objection to a currency free exchange program, quite the contrary. They would with great pleasure send their young people to Soviet families and schools and would also be happy to receive guests from the Ukraine. Therefore, an agreement (unofficial, so far) was concluded. But foreign representatives, of course, immediately expressed doubt that the exchange program could be realized. They said it would take too much time and possibly by then interested schoolboys or students would already be finished with their studies. It was very important to convince them the opposite would be true.

"Next Stop" is extremely popular among the youth of our country, and not because it developed somewhere and because of solidarity reasons we have to support it as strongly as possible. There is no passion in catching somebody else's ideas like flies. "It is enough for us to be isolated from the rest of the world by a wall of our own ignorance"—so the majority of participants summarized their opinion about the movement. Sasha and Oleg also think this way. It is true that they are a little sad that in the Ukraine the movement, unlike in other regions of the country, is still in a frozen state. For example, in Moscow (even in suburban Moscow), Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Kazan, Murmansk and the Baltic republics the movement has developed on a large scale. As far as other regions are concerned, "Next Stop" has had a positive impact on the work of the Komsomol at schools in the sense of helping to develop national culture and language.

These boys have knowledge about the history of the development of the movement. "Next Stop" sprang up in Scandania a few years ago. During this period of time it acquired great significance and authority abroad. In Sweden, for example, it helped to close working nuclear power plants, as well as initiating a "Day without automobiles," and so on... It is clear that it is hard to imagine it having such a role in our country, but this movement could change many things. By the way, students from Kazan were also present at the conference. They met other students and shared opinions and asked questions about disturbances among young people over cruelty recently depicted in the mass media. "That is why we came here in the first place, because "Next Stop" fights against violence," they told each other.

"What are the future plans of our movement and project?" the boys asked again and again. "In any case, the pleasant coincidence of this exchange made one thing clear: how to kill three birds with one shot. I mean how "Next Stop" could organize the cooperation of enterprises and cooperatives by guaranteeing them reliable advertising without service charges. And again all that added to the authority and scale of the movement.

However, to be honest, the young "projectants" did not wait too long to face the opponents who, convinced they were right, said "To let our youth go abroad would be to consciously stimulate a further flourishing of the black market."

"First of all we want to have direct and steady contact with young people abroad but we do not want you to have the impression that we depend only on friendly international exchanges which already exist in some cities anyway."

The idea of exchange was the idea which they presented in Moscow and which now is going to be introduced.

They, as immediate representatives of "Next Stop" will listen to all other projects of young men and women of our republic. It should be noted that the movement is oriented toward cultural and research activities. But it also does not exclude other non-traditional approaches. Striking (vivid examples) of projects were presented in Moscow by different countries ("The Flight of the Air Balloon," "International Marriages," organization of agittrain "Copenhagen-Moscow-Novosibirsk," and many other projects). By the way, the category of the population, countryside or city, does not have any effect on the active participation in the movement. So, next stop—Copenhagen.

For those who are interested and burning with an impatient desire to be involved in progressive movement, Sasha and Oleg "for dessert" prepared additional information: the participants of "Next Stop" do not earn any money or material consideration and do not put a crown of leadership on themselves.

On the other hand, there is very strong medicine for inertness and indifference.

### Committee Finds Ecological State of RSFSR Disastrous

18000921 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in  
Russian 28 Apr 89 p 6

[Article by V. Ivanitskiy: "On the Nature Watch: From the State Committee's First Session"]

[Text] It would seem that there are no words in the Russian language which can express our nature's true state. Geographic names are becoming ecological concepts. Nothing need be explained today, having said, for example: "worse than in Nizhniy Tagil." This means—very bad.

In presenting his report at the RSFSR Committee for the Protection of Nature first session, A. Kovalchuk, the committee's chairman, used these words several times. And this, frankly speaking, is why: The republic is in catastrophic condition. Its enterprises annually discharge 70 million metric tons of pollutants into the air, and about 30 billion cubic meters of raw sewage into water reservoirs. Five economic regions of the RSFSR, the Ural, the West Siberian, the East Siberian, the Central, and the Northern, are on the brink of ecological disaster. Theoretically, it is impossible to live in every seventh city of the 273 RSFSR cities which conduct observations of atmospheric air conditions. There is 20 times as much of nitrogen oxides as the norm in the air of Gorkiy, Smolensk, and Omsk; 33 times as much sulfur dioxide as the norm in Nikel; 183 times as much methyl mercaptan as the norm in Volzhskiy, 289 times as much as the norm in Arkhangelsk, and 478 times as much as the norm in Novodvinsk; and the benzopyrene content in Novokuznetsk's air is 598 times as much as the maximum permissible norm!

It is common knowledge that ecological ruin has befallen not only the atmosphere, but the soils, waters, and forests as well. Such are the consequences of our "house-keeping" under the conditions of our ministries' feudal self-sufficiency. The ministries were called by name at the session: the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry, and many, many others. It is vain, of course, to hope that the ministries, shamed for the millionth time, will abruptly change their attitudes toward nature.

"Until we shall have devised economic methods to protect our land, talk and public indignation will be meaningless to the administrators," said A. Kovalchuk in a conversation with this correspondent.

Yes, and the RSFSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature [Goskompriroda RSFSR] is working on such a method's development. Payment norms are being established for emissions and the use of nature's resources.

Experiments are taking place in Kemerovo, Perm, Leningrad, and Kostroma Oblast. And everything would be fine, were it not for a paradox, and a very interesting one by the way. In trying to influence enterprise and ministry behavior, neither the Goskompriroda RSFSR nor its USSR counterpart has clear-cut legal status. Causing disgruntlement, the Goskompriroda suspends construction, closes down enterprises, and imposes fines at its own peril. The government departments, understanding what the establishment of a well-organized system of state control over nature's condition threatens them with, are impeding the process. This attitude is shown, first of all, in the unwilling transfer of state control functions over their activity. For example, the country's Ministry of the Fish Industry still sets its own fish-catch limits, and itself keeps watch over fish reserves. The story is almost the same with the RSFSR Main Administration for the Hunting Industry and Wildlife Preserves [Glavokhota], which controls itself independently to this day, and is not yet considering anything else. Two decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On the Fundamental Restructuring of Nature Protection Affairs in the Country" and "On Improving the Management of the Country's Forestry and Timber Industry," have begun to conflict with one another. The first provides for the transfer of control functions over forest conditions to the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature [Goskompriroda USSR], and the second orders the department to effect the control. The USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology also has kept the service for observation of the natural environment's pollution as its own.

Of course, the Goskompriroda might be able to create its own similar services and laboratories, but such duplication is not likely to be the state approach by any means. No, and funds for it have not yet been allocated. Today, Goskompriroda RSFSR is short of much for its normal operation: 2,500 special passenger motor vehicles, 336 movable laboratories for controlling industrial emissions, and as many hydrospheric geochemistry laboratories. In order to get on its feet, it needs about 40 million rubles, which no one intends to allocate. The committee's sources and methods of financing, and possible self-financing, have not yet been determined. The lack of status, and a great deal was said about this at the session, even now has begun to discredit the barely established state system for control over nature's condition. It is time to become definitive, especially since the original proposals have been publicly expressed several times: Strengthen the Goskompriroda's directive functions by vesting it with the right of "veto" over ecologically unsound projects and the operation of harmful industrial plants and enterprises, materially stimulate its interest in strict control over nature's condition by transferring part of the imposed fines to its account; and make it an extra-departmental organization, accountable only to the Congress of People's Deputies. In addition to this, give it the right to conduct a nationwide referendum in the event of conflict with a higher-authority agency.



Do not unduly add to the anxiety with which the public is watching the Committee for the Protection of Nature's work. Essentially, this is the last hope that we shall begin to save the country from the impending catastrophe in the right way, and not by hypocritical talk about the need for its salvation.

**Aftermath of Tbilisi Disturbances Reviewed**  
*18300606 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian*  
*No 16, 17-23 Apr 89 p 8*

[Article by Vladilen Arsenyev and Sergey Labanov, Tbilisi: "Tragedy. Before and After the Curfew in Tbilisi"]

[Text] We are writing these lines on the night of 17 and 18 April, the last night of curfew in Tbilisi. Tanks and armored personnel carriers are still rumbling in the streets and squares, but now they are leaving the city. It is the ninth day since the bloody tragedy that was played out along a small stretch of Rustaveli Prospekt in front of Government House. For nine days now, the whole space in front of the building has been spread like a giant carpet made of living flowers; candles are burning. For nine days now people have kept coming, heads bowed in silent grief, never concealing, not ashamed of, unbidden tears....

The events of that fateful night will be discussed for a long time to come, the guilty will be punished. A thoughtful and impartial analysis of everything that took place also lies ahead. One thing is clear, however: the blood of people who were not guilty of anything was shed.

So how did it all happen? Yuriy Rost, a commentator for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, was an eyewitness to the carnage that was played out in front of Government House. Here is an excerpt from his report, which was published in the republic newspaper MOLODEZH GRUZII on 12 April:

"...At 4:00 in the morning, without warning, four armored personnel carriers formed in a line and moved down the street at a speed of around 10 kilometers per hour. By that time the pavement had been cleared by the demonstrators themselves. The crowd let the vehicles through and closed up again. Soldiers came in the wake of the armored personnel carriers.... When they came to the line of people, they stopped.

"...I did not see any stones or sticks during this phase of the drama.

"Then, as if on command, clubs were raised.... The soldiers began to shove the demonstrators, who put up active resistance. Stones and sticks came into play, broken right out of the barriers, also clubs taken from the soldiers.... Tear-gas grenades flew into the fleeing

crowd.... In the ensuing panic, the crowd ran into persons who could not stand up after blows to the head, also into persons who could not keep up the pace and fell down....

"In one hour, the avenue was cleared of demonstrators...."

According to testimony from other eyewitnesses, the people wound up in a tight, gradually narrowing ring of soldiers wielding clubs. All they had was a narrow passage by which to get out of the cordon. There again, however, they were met with a hail of blows, because the majority, seeing what had happened to those who risked getting close to the breach, elected to lie down on the asphalt and cover their heads with their arms, hoping that this submissive pose would at least evoke leniency.

Many that night were rescued by militiamen who, regardless of rank or title, selflessly penetrated into the epicenter of events and took upon themselves the blows of the clubs and removed the helpless and the wounded outside the fatal ring. One of the soldiers, seeing at his feet a girl who was bleeding, threw down his plastic shield and his club and tried to help her. He was immediately the target of curses by his commander.

Two days later, the republic newspapers published the sad tally of that night: "According to the Georgian SSR Ministry of Health, on 9 April during the course of putting a halt to disorders on the square in front of Government House, the following citizens died at the scene: Adaniya, Aza Razhdenovna, age 22; Bezhanishvili, Eka Tamazovna, age 16; Giorgadze, Nato Alekseyevna, age 23; Dzhangirashvili, Nodar Shotayevich, age 40; Dzhincharadze, Mziya Mikhaylovna, age 43; Dolidze, Tamuna Grigoryevna, age 28; Yenukidze, Tina Severyanovna, age 70; Kikvidze, Zaira Abelovna, age 61; Loladze, Manana Levanovna, age 33; Mamulashvili, Tamara Ivanovna, age 50; Mozadze, Mamuka Giviyeich, age 22; Samarguliani-Chkoniya, Marina Tristanovna, age 35; Samarguliani, Nana Aleksandrovna, age 30; Toidze, Nino Shukriyevna, age 25; Chipashvili, Eliso Georgiyevna, age 25; Chovelidze, Tamriko Arkadyevna, age 16. The following persons died as a result of injuries on 11 April: Karseladze, Giya Georgiyevich, age 25; Melkadze, Manana Amiranovna, age 23...."

Later, another person died in the hospital. A total of 19 lives lost. And that's just so far, because physicians in the city's hospitals are still fighting to save several more lives.

The morning of 9 April was a day of dismay and confusion for all Tbilisians. The most unbelievable rumors crept through the city—about innumerable corpses being hauled away on army trucks outside the city to be dumped into deep, hastily dug trenches. There was talk about tanks which had crushed thousands of people in front of Government House, rumors that

several thousand more people had been shot with automatic rifles and machine guns.

That day, Georgian television did not broadcast. The streets of the city were filled with troops. Airplanes were landing at the airport bringing reinforcements. In downtown Tbilisi, groups of young people wearing black bands on their heads and carrying banners of mourning seized private cars and taxis, formed them into columns, and drove around to various parts of the city.

Five minutes before 11:00 p.m., the city commandant announced a curfew in effect from 2300 to 0600 hours. Late that night, CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member E. A. Shevardnadze and CPSU Central Committee Politburo Candidate Member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary G. P. Razumovskiy flew into Tbilisi.

MOLODEZH GRUZII reporter Mikhail Yeligulashvili and I spent that night trying to get a pass. Numerous cordons and checkpoints had to be got past with the help of journalist's credentials, although they were not happy about letting us through. The order was evidently terse and stern, with no exceptions whatsoever, even for the press.

Somehow we arrived at the command headquarters, where, finally, we were told that passes for travel around the city at night were issued in district headquarters. On the way there, near the university, we ran into a chain of soldiers who had just fired at a private vehicle that had failed to stop on command. We and our vehicle were carefully searched, after which they let us through with the warning, "You better be a little more careful."

In district headquarters we never got past the checkpoint. A colonel who happened by checked our documents, wouldn't give his name, but assured us that the passes would not be ready before morning, because no one had time to print them yet. On our return, however, we found out at the barrier (two tanks on one side and two on the other) at Chelyuskinty Bridge that the passes already existed and were being issued in the Pervoye Maya Rayispolkom.

It turned out that about 12:00 midnight, T. Morgoshiya, the officer on duty in the ispolkom, found himself with several dozen people who, despite the sudden curfew that had been imposed, had to get to the airport, or take a sick child to the doctor, or just get home. And he, not being able to get in touch with any of the higher-ups, decided to take care of the whole thing in a simple and uncomplicated manner: On an ispolkom blank he wrote the applicant's name and the address he had to get to, and he titled this document "temporary pass."

Military people are well disciplined. Encountering more than one "temporary pass" signed by Morgoshiya, they decided on the spot that these were legal documents for the moment. We were delighted by this man. He was the

only one who, at a time of such tension and confusion, without suggestions or directives from above, simply and without red tape dealt with a task which proved beyond the capability even of the city commandant.

On the 10th, local television and the afternoon newspapers reported the official news about the events that had taken place. Most factories had ceased operation. Transportation was almost at a standstill. Schools and VUZes were empty. A meeting of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro was held, participated in by comrades E. Shevardnadze and G. Razumovskiy. Also published was an appeal to the populace and working people of the city by Colonel-General I. Rodionov, who was the appointed military commandant of Tbilisi.

On the 11th, from morning onward, helicopters hovered ominously above the city as before. In the enterprises, most of the workers, although they did take their customary places, were still not working; they were still discussing the events of that tragic night, adding the latest details.

We visited the Elektrovostroitel Association, the Tsentrolit Plant, and Automotive Passenger Transport Enterprise No 4. We did not sense any feeling of hatred toward us as Russians. On the other hand, we did find that ordinary people were urgently attempting to understand what had happened and find out things.

Buses were coming off their routes. In some of them, the windows had been smashed by groups of young people who threatened the drivers with physical retaliation and forced them to go back to the garage. It was decided then to assign to each bus two students of the Tbilisi affiliate of the Moscow Higher Militia School, and soon after that all the buses went out on their routes.

I should like to ascribe all the misunderstandings and excesses of that day to the emotional bitterness and universal, profound sense of grief that afflicted the people. The 11th of April was officially declared a Day of Mourning. It was also officially declared, however, that it would still be a working day. And that combination is by no means traditional among the Georgian people.

On that day, E. Shevardnadze, G. Razumovskiy, and D. Patiashvili met in the Georgian Academy of Sciences with representatives of the republic's scientific intelligentsia. Late that night, a videotape of their meeting was shown on Georgian television. The First Secretary of the republic party organization was the target of accusations on all sides. Moreover, some of the academicians and corresponding members of the Academy did not overly restrain themselves in what they said.

Dzhumber Patiashvili began his speech by saying that it would be his last. He went on to say that he understood and fully accepted the burden of responsibility resting on him in connection with taking the extreme decision that

fateful night. Yes, he was to blame and for this reason had lost the moral right to be a leader, although he was shocked by the abrupt shift in views on the part of many of those present who were blaming him now, because those selfsame honorable people had advised him—very insistently—to resort to military force back at the time of the events of November of last year.

On 14 April, speaking at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum which released D. Patiashvili from his duties, E. Shevardnadze cautioned specially: "The practice of party life does not include the institution of resignation. This dates from the time when the party perceived itself as the sole subject free to decide the fate of each of its members. Complete merger with the mass of one's peers was the basis on which it was founded. It was as if the party said to each one: It is not you who decides how to behave, it is the party. I venture to suggest here today that with the deepening of democratization and the sharply increasing importance of the personal factor, the significance of the individual himself, the same sharp increase will mark the individual, personal responsibility of every communist and, perhaps, will bring to the forefront the problem of personal moral jurisdiction. Comrade Patiashvili has resolved this problem on his own, without urging or pressure, and the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum has endorsed his hard and difficult decision."

On 12 April, the situation was difficult, but a certain relaxation of tension could be sensed.

Incidentally, the regular edition of MOLODEZH GRUZII did not appear on 13 April. At 4:00 in the morning (again that fateful hour!) several dozen soldiers burst into the offset printing shop. Almost the entire press run of the newspaper had already been printed. Nevertheless, the machinery was stopped, part of the press run was destroyed, and some of it was taken into custody to await further orders. The workers in the shop were very thoroughly searched.

The spark that set it all off was the publication of Yuriy Rost's on-the-spot reportage by the youth newspaper. The edition, which had been subjected to the obligatory military censorship during the emergency, was censored once more by someone's even more exacting eye. The military people declined all responsibility, referring to the Central Committee order, although while the curfew was in effect all the authority in the city rested only with the military.

Seventeen hours after a decision of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro, the first editions of the newspaper were delivered to editorial staff members, and the next day they reached some subscribers.

On 14 April, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum elected Givi Grigoryevich Gumbaridze First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee....

The victims were buried on 15 April. Autopsies had already revealed that the deaths of many of them had been due to wounds inflicted by both sharp and blunt instruments and as a result of the use of toxic chemicals, although representatives of the military declared that they could not have been used, inasmuch as no chemical weapons were part of the inventory of authorized equipment in the Soviet Army. Services were being held at the Sioni Cathedral. A continuous stream of people carried flowers to the place where innocent victims had perished.

On the morning of 16 April, on the way to the Tbilisi State University, E. Shevardnadze, G. Razumovskiy, and G. Gumbaridze laid flowers at the place where people had died. In one of the auditoriums they were met by the academic council and representatives of the student body. Let us state frankly that their discussion was heated and open. That was to be expected. The University was at the center of events both during November of last year and now, in April. Most important, the meeting was attended by scientists who could make accurate judgments about the cause-and-effect links between events.

...Eight days have passed. Ominous, dramatic days. From IZVESTIYA's pressroom, whose windows look out on Rustaveli Prospekt, we can see the last armored vehicles departing in the dawn. But questions remain, questions which only time and careful investigation into the causes of what happened can give a complete answer. These answers will include extremely vital, politically important ones.

The main one is this: Were the events of April in Tbilisi a provocation by those who are scared of perestroika, who are trying not only to cut off "unauthorized" speeches but also to put a halt to the democratization that is underway in the country?

A second question: Could it be that it was extremists in the informal associations who, failing to reckon with the possibility of casualties, decided to reinforce their position using the principle "The Worse It Is, the Better for Us"?

But there is still a third possibility: Could it be that it was a combination of the first and the second?

We are aware of the seriousness of all these suggestions. But they come unbidden to the mind, because the tragedy itself just does not fit within the framework of perhaps erroneous but honest actions, because this tragedy is extremely remote from moral and humane concepts, the foundation of foundations of a society desiring to become democratic.

### Victims of Gas Poisoning Interviewed on 9 Apr Events

18300579 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
21 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by Irina Adamashvili: "Wounds Don't Heal Easily"]

[Text] The people in the clinical hospital of the Physicians Advanced Training Institute of the USSR Ministry of Health met me cautiously, to put it mildly.

"I'm not giving you any information," Marina Sikharulidze, a physician in the therapy department, stated categorically. Her colleagues, who had assembled in the surgeon's office, were of the same mind: Why give out information which would then be distorted in the press? It was probably a natural reaction....

But we arrived at a compromise. I showed Marina my journalist's credentials, from which she copied all the data precisely. Then she handed me a copy. Everything that I wrote down from her dictation, in duplicate, was divided evenly—one copy to me, the other to her. And we agreed that either everything that was discussed would be published in the form in which it was written, or it would not be printed at all.

Here they are, excerpts from three case histories. For ethical considerations, the surnames of the patients are not given.

Leyla Kh., age 26, a housewife. Entered the hospital on 13 April. Diagnosis: poisoning by an unknown chemical substance, complicated by nervous depression, and general toxic angiotenopathy. Complains of dizziness, nausea, pain in the region of the neck and abdomen, asphyxia, excessive salivation of a purulent character with traces of blood, and overall trembling. Temperature, 37.5.

She was taken ill on 9 April at the time the rally was being broken up, when, along with others who had assembled there, she was subjected to an attack by soldiers with clubs and sharp shovels. She saw them throw glass vials on the ground. She smelled the characteristic odor, which was followed by asphyxia, dizziness, and vomiting. A red rash appeared on exposed parts of her body; she felt acute weakness and fell down. Her brother took her home. When the symptoms grew worse, she went to the hospital.

"The treatment is being carried out using generally accepted resuscitatory means," Marina Sikharulidze said. "We have not received any antidotes."

Eteri Ch., age 18, a checker in the knitting shop of Vocational-Technical School No 23. Entered the hospital on 9 April at 4:30 hours in a comatose, unconscious state. Diagnosis: irritant gas toxemia, brain edema, hypoxic encephalopathy, second-stage Glasgow coma,

acute respiratory failure, numerous contusions and excoriations on the body, post-toxic syndrome, toxic psychosis, and retrograde confabulation amnesia (mental dysfunction). Brought from the rally by ambulance. Placed in the resuscitation department and attached to artificial respiration apparatus. Patient does not now complain about health. Euphoric, remembers nothing of what occurred, is observed to laugh inappropriately.

Marina V., age 32, a programmer for agrobank in Kalinin Rayon. In hospital since 11 April. Diagnosis: poisoning of respiratory center by unknown chemical substances, with symptoms of asphyxia. Placed in therapy department, then in resuscitation department, then in therapy again.... At present, Marina V. is in the nervous disorders department.

"She had asthma before," says Makvala Georgiyevna Geladze, the physician who has been treating Marina since 19 April. "The poison exacerbated her illness. Our diagnosis now is nervous breakdown with cycles of depression and hysterical reactions. Will Marina regain her health? We certainly hope so...."

I visited Eteri Ch. in her ward. The girl remembers nothing except that on Friday evening she was with friends in Kashveti. The next day, the day the terrible tragedy happened, has vanished totally from her consciousness, as if it never happened.

Leyla Kh. claims that she recalls the most minute details of that tragic night:

"They forced us off the steps of Government House toward Kashveti. People took refuge in the courtyard of the church. The militia formed a wall at the entrance to the courtyard. We heard our militiamen asking the troops not to break in. They were armed with shovels and clubs. The only place to run was down the slope from Kashveti, but it was blocked off by trucks; the crowd tried to squeeze through the narrow spaces between them. Many jumped off the wall around the church. The wounded were being brought into the courtyard. Then they began to throw in some kind of little bulbs or capsules. It was gas. I immediately got a feeling of asphyxiation...."

Lying in the same ward was Khatuna M., a 23-year-old student at the pedagogical institute. She spent the night of 8-9 April at the Georgian Television Building. She was brought to the hospital with the same diagnosis as Leyla Kh. Khatuna stated:

"It was about 1:00 in the morning. We had almost dropped off to sleep when it began to drizzle. We took shelter in the building across the street. At about 4:30 some guy came up in a taxi and told us they were killing people at Government House. No one believed him; we called him a provocateur. Ten minutes later, someone announced through a bullhorn that troops were on the way. The boys linked hands and formed a chain; the girls

were in the second row, behind them. The people on the bullhorn told us not to resist and nothing would happen. We started to sing "Samshoblo [Motherland]."

"The troops appeared on two sides at once—from the direction of the Adzhariya and from the direction of the circus, coming up out of the underground crosswalk on Heroes Square. They formed up, struck three times on their shields with their clubs, and the fourth time they struck the crowd. There was some strange smell in the air. In their hands the advancing troops were holding something like ordinary deodorant canisters [dezodoranty] and sprayed them all around. On their faces and under their chins they were wearing some kind of devices—not exactly gas masks but something like it.... When they sprayed this 'deodorant' on me I immediately felt a dryness in my mouth and abrupt weakness; I noticed the rash when I was home. I was rescued by Giya Goderdzishvili, a fourth-year student in our pedagogical institute's history department. The blow of a club which was meant for me fell on him.... Our boys shielded the girls and helped them jump over the wall into the zoological park. Giya lost consciousness.... He was in this hospital but was discharged on 19 April."

The first day, 35 persons were admitted to the clinical hospital of the Physicians Refresher Institute of the USSR Ministry of Health. There are eight there now. Many were discharged and many came in on subsequent days. There were 32 persons admitted with the diagnosis of "poisoning" alone. According to the testimony of Enri Apollonovich Bolkvadze, head of the women's surgery department, there were eight patients in that unit. Three were brought in suffering from concussion of the brain; one woman had a contused wound in the shin region, the others had general body contusions.

The men's surgery department admitted 17 persons; another man who was brought in suffering from poisoning was transferred to the resuscitation unit. The last patients were discharged on 19 April.

Anzor Nikolayevich Tsintsadze, head of the department, has this to say:

"The victims began to come in at 5:10 on 9 April; we admitted the last of them at 6:40. Most of our workers were on the job at 5:20. They called each other up on the phone. The whole hospital staff was here in 40 minutes. When you consider that by no means everyone has a car, that's pretty efficient.... No, there was no advance notification the night before that we might be needed.

"Most of those who were admitted to our department had head and chest injuries and abrasions on the chest and back. Some of them had cuts in the chest area and the head. They were deep wounds.... Among those who were admitted here around dawn, many had served in the armed forces; two of them were 'Afghans,' and two others were skilled in unarmed combat. Tough kids, not easy to beat down. They said that when the soldiers

sensed their resistance they sprayed them with some kind of substances. Many of those who were admitted to our department had the same rash as Eteri Ch.

"Details on each patient of interest to you can be found in the case histories. We are keeping them separate. All of those who were admitted to the hospital have undergone numerous examinations, including by forensic medical experts. One more thing. All of the victims brought here that day were in a state of extreme stimulation. All of them had to be given sedatives and tranquilizers. The next day there was no necessity of this. We were not happy about discharging our patients. They will need medical help for some time to come. They will fully regain their ability to work in two or three weeks. But they themselves asked to be released. And they are probably right about that; a lot of people were coming here to visit and cheer them up. In their state, the strain was too much.

"All of the wounds have been photographed. We were also visited by photo correspondents from OGONEK and MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.... No, you won't have to bring your materials for approval; I trust you."

#### **Official Interviewed on Problems of Azerbaijani Refugees**

18300580 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
13 Apr 89 p 1

[Interview with A. M. Yusif-zade, chief of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Department for Working with People Who Have Left Their Permanent Residence, by S. Krasnova AZERINFORM correspondent; date and place not given]

[Text] It has already been more than a year since the bitter word "refugees" appeared in our lexicon. Now, the number of migrants—persons of Azerbaijani nationality who were forced to leave their native hearths and move to Azerbaijan—has reached 135,000 people. This is 29,000 families.

Letters, in which anxiety about the fate of those who find themselves far from home resounds, continue to arrive in newspaper editorial boards. An AZERINFORM correspondent asked Z. M. Yusif-zade, chief of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers department for working with people who have left their permanent residence, to talk about what the republic's party, soviet and economic agencies are doing in this direction. He said:

[Yusif-zade] The events in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast have brought population migration processes to life in both republics that are not simple ones. It has turned out that a return to their native land is not now practically possible for a certain portion of the migrants due to a whole series of reasons. That is why everything must be done so that the people will begin to live normally and find work more quickly in their new locations.

Attaching exceptionally important significance to the timely solution of questions connected with the citizens who have left their permanent residences, a special department, which coordinates the activity of ministries, departments and local agencies in working with the immigrants and which examines in an operational manner and solves the questions they are raising, was established in the republic's Council of Ministers in December of last year in accordance with an Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee decision. The department's workers are tracking the dynamics of the change in the number of people who have left their permanent residence, making a daily analysis of the state of affairs in each rayon and city, developing and carrying out the necessary measures to establish conditions for the migrants' return, and carrying out urgent measures to settle the problems of citizens who have joined their fate to our republic. The department regularly compiles reports on the status of the work with the migrants and on the measures being taken to make arrangements for them and makes analyses and concrete suggestions.

[Correspondent] Where are the migrant families basically located and what is being done for them?

[Yusif-zade] They have been resettled in 51 rayons and seven cities of the republic. I would like to say that the best qualities of our people have been demonstrated under these unusual conditions: hospitality, sincere generosity and kindness. People have provided a roof to those in need—both in shelter and in a cordial word. When resettling the people in Azerbaijan's rayons, we tried to observe the natural and climatic conformity to the places where they previously lived. Agdamskiy, Kazakhskiy, Divichinskiy, Bardinskiy, Ismailinskiy, Kakhskiy, Mir-Bashirskiy, Shamkhorskiy, Shekinskiy, Kubatlinskiy, Zakatalskiy, and other rayons are showing a careful concern for the migrants' problems. Special attention is being paid to children—and there are approximately 35,000 of them. A total of 19 schools, 300 classrooms, 25 extended-day groups, 2 preschool boarding schools, and 4 kindergartens have been opened especially for them. Approximately 3,000 children have vacationed in health resorts, including Artek.

Among the migrants are more than 3,000 retirees. At the present time, 2,500 people are receiving a pension. For the others, an age allowance is being paid while their pension documents are being reconstructed. Since the beginning of the events, the families of the migrants have been given one-time material assistance on the order of 20 million rubles from the local budget. I would especially like to emphasize the charity role of public organizations, including the Gayga Society that has transferred 3.2 million rubles for the migrant families. The population has transferred significant sums of money and many items to the Yardy Fund for the migrants' needs.

Plots of land for the construction of individual houses have been allotted to more than 4,000 families.

[Correspondent] As is known, a considerable number of the migrants are in Baku. Meanwhile, the republic's capital is itself experiencing significant housing difficulties. What problems must be solved in this connection?

[Yusif-zade] A rather serious situation has taken shape here. Although quite a few migrants in Baku have exchanged their housing in Armenia on legal grounds and a majority of them have found work, there are still families which have not been able to register for a long time. A study has shown that they exchanged their individual housing for self-constructed housing and dwellings located in gas-polluted areas based on mutual arrangements without filling out the appropriate legal documents. A decision has been made to permit people, who have made such an exchange, to permanently register. There are more than 6,000 of them.

I would also like to direct your attention to the following fact. The overwhelming majority of the migrants and of those who are now dwelling in Apsheron are farmers and animal-breeders. That is why the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee decision about reviving the Khyzy-Alty-Agachskaya zone in Apsheronskiy Rayon is extremely important. It provides for leasing land and pastures in a zone, where at one time there were no less than 66 flourishing villages and 33 kolkhozes, to the migrants located in Baku, Sumgait and Apsheronskiy Rayon itself. There are many abandoned houses and farmsteads needing a master's hand. New construction is also required. According to the calculations of specialists, 20,000 people will be able to live and find work here. The advantages of this project are many: The people will make the abandoned land livable; produce agricultural products; cultivate melons, vegetables and fruit; raise bees; and engage in animal husbandry.

[Correspondent] Generally speaking, how are things going with job placement for people in this category?

[Yusif-zade] This is a very difficult task in our labor-surplus republic. There are many reasons for this and we will not go into them now. However, this is why the efforts of the ministries, departments and local authorities to create additional work positions are extremely important. The lease forms for organizing work in the village are opening up large opportunities. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers have defined this avenue as the priority one in working with the migrants and have issued the appropriate instructions. The department is monitoring this question daily.

[Correspondent] In order to restore good-neighborly relations between the two peoples and strengthen international traditions, the return of the migrants to their native hearths is very important. What is being done in this direction?

[Yusif-zade] An appeal of the Communist Party central committees, supreme soviets and council of ministers

presidiiums of both republics to the citizens, who have left their permanent residences, was published at the beginning of January of this year. In accordance with it, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers have directed the efforts of all party, soviet, economic, and administrative agencies toward solving the key problem—the return of the migrants from both sides to their previous residences.

In this respect, the meetings at the end of January and beginning of February of this year between the leaders of both republics have played an extremely positive role. Contacts and meetings between leaders at the rayon level have become regular ones. The representatives of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers, who have been attached to the rayons where there has been the most massive settling of migrants, have made an important contribution to the propaganda and explanatory work. This is a strategic avenue in our work that corresponds to the innermost thoughts and hopes of the people who are far from their native home. The probability of implementing it depends directly on solving the problems connected with the international relations and the restoration of trust and good-neighborly relations between the two peoples.

**Azerbaijan Ministry Official Discusses Aid to Displaced Persons**

18300619 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
5 May 89 p 1

[Interview with Z.M. Yusif-zade, chief of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers department for work with the population that has left its places of permanent residence, by BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent E. Abaskuliyeva: "Care for the Displaced Persons: Everything Possible Will Be Done"]

[Text] A USSR Council of Ministers resolution, adopted for the purposes of normalizing interethnic relations in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and providing assistance to the citizens who were compelled to leave their places of permanent residence, was publicized in the press a few days ago. Readers are requesting that the editorial office explain some of this document's provisions.

Our correspondent, E. Abaskuliyeva, asked Z.M. Yusif-zade, chief of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers department for work with the population that has left its places of permanent residence, to answer the questions interesting the readers.

[Correspondent] We know that the displaced persons became objects of special attention to the republic's party, government, and social organizations as soon as they appeared. What can you tell us about the work that is being done to implement the USSR Council of Ministers resolution adopted 15 April of this year?

[Yusif-zade] You are right, a considerable amount of work was being done with the people who found themselves in dire circumstances even before the resolution—Lodging was found for them, a certain fraction was placed in jobs, many were given monetary assistance, and the children went to school or kindergarten. With the passage of time, it has become apparent that some of the families resolutely intend to return to their native homes—in Noyemberyanskiy, Vardenisskiy, Gugarskiy, and certain other Armenian SSR rayons. At the same time, many of the displaced persons, for a number of objective and subjective reasons, do not wish to return to their former places of residence.

Naturally, such a situation requires the joint work of both republic's representatives. In accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers resolution, an inter-republic commission will be formed for just this purpose. Deputy chairmen of the republics' Councils of Ministers will head it.

Inasmuch as the displaced persons are living in various cities and rayons of the republic, commissions of this sort will be formed where the people are. The people will be able to take their unsolved problems there, and the rayon or city commissions will certainly help them.

[Correspondent] Of what will the help consist?

[Yusif-zade] Of effective, tangible help to the people with any problems: for example, with applying for pensions. A person does not have his pension documents—in his haste, he did not bring them along, or he lost them during the move—and he is granted the minimum pension. But it is entirely possible that he may receive a much larger one. With the inter-republic commission's assistance, the problems of transferring his pension affairs from one republic to the other will be solved in the shortest time periods. The commission will work for the restoration of unbroken working longevity and the provision of allowances. No small role in evaluating occasioned loss and providing monetary compensation is accorded to the commission.

In short, the commission has a broad range of responsibilities, and it will have to work on many social, financial, and everyday-living problems for each displaced person.

[Correspondent] In which of the republic's zones or rayons will those who have decided to stay in Azerbaijan be accommodated?

[Yusif-zade] Basically these are six zones that are similar, in their climatic conditions, to the places from which the displaced persons came. We even took that factor into account.

To speak in specific terms, there is, for example, the Altyagach-(Khyzin) Zone of Apsheronkiy Rayon. In this regard, the republic's Council of Ministers has

adopted a special resolution concerning the measures for its revitalization. Provision is made to construct facilities for sociocultural and municipal service purposes, and to create industrial-enterprise branches and additional jobs in agricultural production.

Displaced persons also will be accommodated in the territory of five more zones of the republic: the Nakhichevan, the Zangelan-Lachin-Kubatly, the Khanlar-Shamkhor, the Shemakha-Ismaily, and the Divichi-Khachmas Zones.

We have already accommodated 60,000 persons now. But there is a big job ahead: We must allocate the land plots, the building materials, etc., to accommodate about 70,000 more persons. For this purpose, the USSR State Workers' Savings and Credit Bank will grant additional loans, and the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and Ministry of Trade will allot market supplies of building materials—whatever is necessary for private habitation construction—to the people who have found themselves in difficult circumstances.

The new national government resolution makes it possible to use the resources available in the republic to good effect. For example, part of the unused state capital investment in construction for the current year may be used to build social and service facilities for the displaced persons.

The owners of private homes are authorized to trade them with those persons who live in state apartments. In brief, all the steps to consider the people's wishes and meet them are being taken. An enormous role in this difficult work belongs to the local soviets of people's deputies, and to the economic as well as the social organizations, which even now, without waiting for instructions from above, must do everything within their power to implement the intended measures in the USSR Council of Ministers resolution.

[Correspondent] There are also those among the displaced persons, whose homes and property turned out to be in the earthquake zone in Armenia. What sort of assistance is being given to them?

[Yusif-zade] The work by insurance agencies to determine the losses caused to Azerbaijanis whose property sustained damage as a result of the earthquake has been completed. By 20 April, losses for damaged and destroyed property, in the total amount of 15.451 million rubles, had been reimbursed to 5,141 families in 6 rayons of the Armenian SSR (Amasiyskiy, Spitakskiy, Gugarskiy, Idzhevanskiy, Stepanavanskiy, and Kalininskiy) where citizens of Azerbaijan nationality had been residing. In addition, monetary assistance, at the rate of 200 rubles per person, had been provided in the total amount of 5.024 million rubles. Data clarification is being done for other families as well, and compensation will also be paid to them. This work is being supervised by the USSR Ministry of Finance's Main Administration

for State Insurance, and is being carried out in close coordination with the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Finance and Administration for State Insurance, with the calling in of workers from other republics.

I want to assure you that all of the families which have left their places of permanent residence, and all of the problems troubling them, are at the center of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's and the republic Council of Ministers' attention.

**Measures To Improve Latvian Language Proficiency in LaSSR Implemented, Planned**  
*18001029 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
27 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by V. Minayev: "Our Common Concern"]

[Text] Meetings of scholars, experts, leaders of ministries, departments, and enterprises, and representatives of cooperatives took place at the Council of Ministers. They discussed the practical possibilities of creating conditions for radically improving teaching and mastering of the Latvian language and for ensuring its functioning in state, social, and cultural life and in other spheres. L. Bartkevich, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, conducted these meetings.

In a draft of the Law of the Latvian SSR on Languages, it states that the government ensures the comprehensive and complete use of the Latvian language in all spheres of state and social life as well as its study. Just what are they doing and what are they planning on doing to ensure all opportunities for mastering the language and its practical use?

A 100,000 volume edition of the textbook "Let Us Study the Latvian Language" has already been published for beginners. The same number will be published in two weeks. Various dictionaries, including terminological dictionaries, teach-yourself books, textbooks, and pocketbooks are being prepared for publication. The problem is in finding paper. There have been some interesting suggestions in this regard: from collecting waste paper at home, reducing the output of minor advertising publications and calendars on art paper, to creating paper reserves by reducing the number of official documents.

Video cassette tapes of Latvian language lessons are being developed at the Latvias Kino [Film] Association and the Melodiya Firm has produced records. They are also ready to begin producing language lessons on audio cassettes. Latvian Television is already transmitting a program called "For Those Who Are Studying Latvian." On Sundays, our newspaper publishes explanations and vocabulary lists for these television lessons. The broadcasts will be expanded through sub-titles and simultaneous translation.

Many ministries, not waiting for high-level decisions, have already organized the study of Latvian in their



workers collectives. Study groups have been established, terminological dictionaries are being prepared for publication, and translators have been provided on staffs for preparing documents in two languages at enterprises and at institutions, and in the very ministries of consumer services, public health, trade, the fuel and energy commission, and the Latvian Maritime Steamship Line.

At the meetings, they also talked about establishing a Republic Language Center, discussed the problems of acquiring and using computer technology, equipping halls with equipment for simultaneous translation, and training translators and typists. They examined the complex issues of conducting clerical work.

Various opinions have been expressed about the ways and methods of implementing a real functioning Latvian language as a state language. But the meeting's participants were united on one point: Having created the necessary conditions for studying the Latvian language, we can help the population of the republic to quickly master it only through common efforts.

#### **Interfront's Demonstration on Soviet Army Day Criticized**

*18080048 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian  
3 Mar 89 p 1*

[Article by B. Brila]

[Text] As an introduction, here is an invitation (its copy), which was sent to the paper by reader R. Pliks of Plavnieks, adding that these leaflets were well distributed in her area.

"Dear Comrade!

We invite you and all comrades to participate in a meeting regarding our national dignity, legal and factual state bilingual status, and about the right to work and live.

The meeting will take place on 23 February 1989, at 5 P.M., in the planetarium area."

**If underneath was not mentioned the date when the meeting is to take place, from the content of the invitation it would in no way be clear that the meeting is to take place exactly on Soviet Army and Naval Fleet Day, and that it has any connection to this holiday. Here are lines from readers' (witnesses to what happened) letters about what they saw happen in these days and those to come.**

Dear editors!

I am so "moved," that I cannot restrain myself from expressing a few emotional thoughts about two unique shows, which took place on the streets and squares of Riga on 23 and 25 February. Finally the long-awaited days, when our republic's inhabitants could see and thoroughly become familiar with a manifestation of

great strength and admirable culture, had arrived. For a while nothing that edifying and consolidating of honorable people had happened since the beginning of January, when the Latvian Workers' International Front Congress took place.

But—thank God—the whirlwind of those two days again reawakened society from the captivity of a "rosy dream." Yes, Interfront (IF) once again proved that this organization's existence has not become any more well-meaning towards the Latvian people, nor towards the rest of the republic's inhabitants. It is good, very good, that society, hopefully, also our government, once again got to see who is who. And to become convinced of the kind of forces with which we can or cannot consolidate today. Do we really have a common way with those, who, for example, are represented by (symbolized by?) the "anonymous" citizen, who, last year by the Latvian Rifleman Museum stood, with his flaming accusation speeches, in the way of CPSU Central Committee Secretary Medvedev, but this year, having put on a retired general's uniform, from the holiday rostrum on Soviet Army Day expresses just as flaming threats against "them," i.e. against that part of the republic's population that does not dance to this Brezhnev era commander's, political worker's suggestions and orders?

In this respect, in my opinion, Interfront is to be congratulated that it finally has started to organize emotional, at the same time politically edifying demonstrations. I would only like to express one request. That all the republic's inhabitants would more broadly and deeply get to know Interfront, all its supporters and this organization's political and cultural maturity. Similar demonstrations should be held more often, reflecting their course in the republic's and central mass media, because I believe that the Soviet people want to hear and read about what is happening in Latvia.

I would also like to make a suggestion to the Interfrontists: such demonstrations of self-revealing and -expression should not be held during large celebrations that are important to everyone, because many an amusing activity can strongly degrade both the idea of the celebration and the rest of the celebration participants, placing them on the same level as the Interfrontists. That is not very good, because people with a sense of honor will start to avoid such holiday celebrations. I say this because, on this concrete time, exactly on February 23, I (and only I?), as a former Soviet Army reserve officer, felt rather uncomfortable with the fact that civilians, although only Interfrontists, so thoughtlessly (or perhaps intentionally?) tried to loosen and crumble Armed Forces' authority in the eyes of the republic's inhabitants. I do not know, maybe some "Intersoldier"—a retired colonel or general—liked and was honored by it. But about myself

I can say: if I, being in active service, on the Soviet Army's celebration day had to march next to yelling, screaming people, who without any respect, carelessly waving the Soviet flag above their heads, climb and crawl even onto telephone booths, then nothing else would remain but to crawl into the earth from shame...

With true honor, **Janis Plotnieks**, a retired senior lieutenant—

If we look back in the history of the Victory Monument's creation, we must remember that the resources for the monument were donated by all of Latvia's inhabitants. Yes, those were the "blooming times" of stagnation, "large forms" were in style, but that in no way lessens the monument's significance, the same as Stalinism and its crimes cannot diminish the meaning of Victory itself. The large majority of people, I too, conscientiously work on Saturdays to earn the necessary sum so that the monument would be there for the liberators of Latvia and Riga.

That is exactly why I am deeply offended by the anonymous Interfront organization's speeches, held in the spirit of imperial thinking and Great Russian chauvinism, which in the meetings of the last few days have resounded from the Victory Monument's podium. What rights have these comrades and speakers, of whom a large part has arrived in Riga well after 13 October 1944 and found an already finished monument, from this podium's hateful people?

I hold that on 13 October and 9 May we should come to this monument to listen to the memories of the participants of those battles, but the **slandering begun by Interfront of the memory of the deceased must be stopped.**

Arnis Berzins—

We, the Latvian Red Riflemen Riga High School 89 primary party organization and school collective, express our protest against the events of 23 and 25 February by the monument to Riga's liberators.

When donating our resources for this monument, we were not able to imagine that it would become a place where the Latvian people's national feelings would be profaned.

We ask that a law against chauvinism and war propaganda be created. We hope for the active work of the republican government.

We await a concrete answer!

78 signatures— I am very sorry that the monument for which I have paid has been so disgraced. I will bring neither my pupils nor my grandchildren to it.

L. Jurgite.—

We, the undersigned worker group of the "Venta" factory's "1 May" production union, condemn Interfront's chauvinist antics on February 23 and 25 in Riga center and on Victory Square. Latvia's native population had to listen to open threats to establish order with the army's help. What kind of order they were referring is not understandable: Stalin's or Beria's, Pelshe's or Voss', or Stalin's best student Hitler's order? And everything took place under the red flags, with Lenin's name on their lips! Interfront has overstepped its own statutes, the existing Constitution and all unwritten courtesy and other laws. Now it clearly showed that from a social organization it has become an anti-state, chauvinist organization.

51 signatures—

I expect that the organs defending justice and laws will call IF activists to answer to unmistakable facts of stoking national enmities at meetings, of insulting the republican government and Latvian Communist Party Central Committee during the march, of the invitation not to obey the Constitution—to liquidate elections, etcetera. All these events occurred in the presence of thousands of eyewitnesses and one could not complain about the lack of proof in places of justice.

R. Grinbergs—The 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army was celebrated this year in a unique atmosphere—our army's withdrawal from Afghanistan and the various evaluations of nine years of war and our common pain about the losses. Therefore, having read the invitation of the LTK [acronym's expansion could not be established] veterans council, the Baltic military districts' reserve soldier council, and Interfront to participate in the march and meeting, I decided that I had to be there together with everyone. I, who have had to serve in the Central Asian military district when recently there were events on the Sino-Soviet border, considered that it was my obligation.

When at 5 PM I arrived at the meeting place on Commune Square I was surprised by the rather aggressive mood of the gathered people, as well as by the content of several posters. People stood in separate groups, from which I heard expressions that were not very pleasant to me as a Latvian. I turn to two older men, who held a poster in Latvian, with the question: why does the content of many posters have nothing in common with the Soviet Army? I received a rather original

answer. Having found out that I am a Latvian, one of the proclaimed that a "foreigner" has nothing to look for here. I also found out that I am a fascist and that people like me already have a place prepared for them in Siberia. I do not wish to tell you about what happened further. I will say only that in my 33 years I had never heard such insults.

The meeting on Victory Square. If at the Latvian Communist Party's Riga city conference in Comrade Bukashkin's expressions about the "unified and indivisible" we heard not the motives of the "International" but "God Save the Tsar," then at the meeting Major General Osadovska talked about the Soviet Army, which will stand against external and internal (!!!) enemies, one could already discern clatter of the 1905 punitive expeditions' hoofs.

I understand the disgust of the war veterans, seeing posters with openly provocative slogans in the hands of young people. But I cannot understand the march and meeting organizers, who, being (hopefully) experienced and educated enough, and knowing the already tense situation in the republic, allowed the possibility of such speeches and the demonstration of such posters, which had a poorly-masked chauvinistic content. At the meeting dedicated to language problems, high in front of the militia officer was raised a poster with the slogan "We support the resolution of the 1959 plenum! No to 'Berk-lavshchina!'" [a nationalist Latvian Communist]

While summing up the impressions of these days, I thought of a few questions:

- Why do we have to listen to constant insults of the republic's party and government leaders from Interfront?
- Why for each commentary on the radio, in the press or on television about Interfront's pranks the answer at the paper is the fatherly consolation from high offices, "Only without emotion"?
- What gave the Baltic military district's reserve soldier council the right to speak in the name of all those who have fulfilled the Soviet citizen's duty in the Soviet army?
- Why is the discussion of the Language Bill taking so long? Is that meant to better discuss the bill, or is time being graciously granted for the consolidation of the bill's enemy forces?

Vilnis Purins

P.S. I would also like to remind Comrades Osadovskis, Dudniks, and Lopatins that the idea about using the army "in united and indivisible fashion" to defend us

against internal enemies is nothing new. On these principles was founded the Romanov dynasty's "people's strength."—

The meetings and demonstrations of 23 and 25 February, which in Riga were organized by Interfront, attempted to provoke a sharpening of the mutual relations between the peoples living in the Latvian SSR. Both in the slogans and in the speeches the essence of currently-happening changes was roughly twisted. The listeners and spectators were deceived by supposedly-threatening discrimination against the Russian language, and as means of defense, strikes and appeals to the army were offered.

We consider that these attempts to destabilize the situation in the republic ask for a careful analysis of it and an immediate informing of the population of its results. We ask that the republic's ideological leadership express its position and unmask and call to answer the provocateurs and the falsifiers of restructuring.

In the name of the republican anti-tuberculosis prophylactic center and the Latvian People's Front chapter of the Jugla sanatorium forest school,

P. Klidzejs and C. Lukina—

#### Editorial Remark

As the publication of 1 March 1989 with the subtitle "Thoughts on Social Movements in Latvia" in PRAVDA (see also SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 2/3/89) proves, its authors—special correspondents O. Meshkov and A. Chern'enko—also observed the demonstration and meeting of 23 February in Riga. Read it! And you will become convinced that, trying very hard, it was still possible (necessary?) to "not see," even "not notice," even a part of that which has been described here in the cited letters and several unmentioned ones. How can one otherwise explain the impression that not one and the same event has been described, but they are two separate ones?

In addition we give you for evaluation a fragment from the radio program "Recourse," which on 1 March 1989 was broadcast on Latvian radio.

The resolution "On the Attitude Towards the Latvian SSR Law on the Language Project" of the 25 February 1989 meeting of the the Latvian SSR Worker International Front's Members and Supporters, Inhabitants of the Leningrad rayon of Riga:

We, the participants of the meeting, ascertain that the published Latvian SSR Language Bill actually guarantees only the development of one language—the Latvian language. And the non-Latvian part of the republic's population is placed in uneven conditions in the development sphere of language national culture, its rights and freedoms are curtailed, thus creating discrimination according to national mark and delays the active participation of all the republic's inhabitants in political, social, and economic life. I consider that this the proposed variation of this law is not acceptable in a juridical state; the ignorance of human rights in a juridical state can not be allowed. We consider it necessary that man, regardless of his origin, be affirmed constitutional guarantees to use his native tongue and culture, to choose a profession and place of residence. We turn to the deputies to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and the republican government with these requests:

1. To immediately end the discussion of the Latvian Language Bill and to release the working group that developed it.
2. To postpone the examination of the language question until after the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationality question.
3. If our requests are not fulfilled by 1 April 1989, we reserve the right to express our view on this question in all ways, including the expression of a vote of no confidence to the republic's Supreme Soviet and government, the recalling of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, a request that the government resign, mass strikes and other undertakings of social influence.

The resolution was accepted on 25 February 1989 at a meeting of 50,000 people in Riga, on Victory Square, by an absolute participant majority.

**Union of Cooperatives Established in Latvia**  
*18000912 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
*18 Apr 89 pp 1, 3*

[Report by LATINFORM Correspondents A. Sokolov and O. Yazev: "Union of Cooperatives Established"]

[Text] Will Latvian cooperatives, of which there are already close to two thousand, become a new social force in the republic? A constituent congress of production cooperatives that was held in the Latvian CP Central Committee's House of Political Education in Riga on April 15-16 was called on to answer that very question.

The pioneers of Latvian cooperatives, many of which began quite recently with the sale of piroshki and shashlik, simple services and private taxis, today no longer define the boundaries of a small economy. Multibranch firms, scientific and technical centers, and associations that have strong material and technical facilities at their disposal, are gaining strength, and the first commercial banks have opened. Cooperatives have swiftly invaded those spheres in which, it seemed, the unshakable monopoly of state enterprises reigned. Thus, they sold more than 190 million rubles worth of goods and services last year alone. Cooperatives provide services to one out of every fifteen clients in the service sphere.

Yet while the role of cooperatives in the economy grows with each passing day, it is still insignificant in the social life of the republic. Members of cooperatives, associated with one another, at best, by personal acquaintance alone, have up to now had a difficult time defending their rights, taking part in the development of new draft legislation involving cooperatives, and coordinating their actions. So it is no coincidence that these were among the primary problems discussed at the constituent congress.

The congress' organizing group submitted for discussion a draft charter and memorandum which defined the goals and tasks of the new public organization, as well as its structure and administrative procedures. These documents were discussed for two days and heated debates over painful questions of the cooperative movement unfolded.

Ya.Ya. Okherin, secretary of the Latvian CP Central Committee, addressed the congress' participants. Specifically, he said:

In political terms, Lenin's definition that socialism is a structure of civilized cooperative members, is, doubtless, relevant today. Development of the cooperative movement is one element of overall radical economic reform. I would like to particularly stress that the cooperative movement is a fundamental trend in the creation of an independent economy in Latvia. Here the level of self-management is being more clearly examined and questions of self-financing are being worked out. The Latvian CP Central Committee deems it a direct duty of communists working in soviets and state organizations to support in every possible way the aspirations of the working people to develop cooperatives, to work in them, and to improve the cooperative movement. We must critically discuss the fact that this work today does not fully satisfy either the cooperative movement or the public need for a cooperative movement. It is my deep conviction that members of cooperatives are one of the most enterprising and motivated groups of people in our society. And I believe that this movement will develop in a positive sense.

What contradictions does the bureau of the Central Committee and the leadership of the Council of Ministers see in cooperatives today?

On the whole, there are two sets of issues—internal problems of the cooperative movement, and problems of material and technical supply and other organizational questions. I heard today that you are all concerned about shortcomings in the existing system of legislation. Yes, obviously, this is the central question of internal problems, and at the same time, a political question. If we say that cooperatives are a component of the economy in the period of restructuring, then we must guarantee their stability.

There is the question of prices for cooperatives' goods and services. Naturally, it is closely connected with pricing policy in the country as a whole. Today economists view the process of pricing as globally distorted, and for the short term, this will obviously affect both the state sector and the cooperative sector. We must take these facts into account.

The second question is the guarantee of quality. Previous speakers have already spoken about this in self-critical terms. I think that this is one of the reasons for the negative attitude forming people's psychological outlook. So it is good that concern was voiced here and that a program to improve the quality of cooperatives' wares was discussed. Undoubtedly, a portion of the goods that you produce will be exported from the republic. I do not say this to advocate that you work only for the rayon, city or republic. But I want to say that if the work in question is carried out with local raw materials or with raw material supplies that have been centrally allocated—then this, naturally, introduces contradictions into the market for goods and affects prices. I think it proper that local soviets establish the maximum possible tax on cooperatives that work for other regions.

In a word, there are plenty of problems that must be solved. I would like to note that cooperatives are taking little advantage of the possibilities of the mass media today. I think that we can find an opportunity after the congress, in the very near future, to organize a televised meeting between members of the government and representatives of the Union of Cooperatives, in which you could explain to the public the more problematic aspects of cooperative activity.

I think that it would also make sense, after the congress is completed, for you to submit its results to the Latvian Council of Ministers for review, in order to move from criticism and verification of shortcomings in normative acts to the generation of ideas and the formulation of legal statutes that could be submitted through our government and Supreme Soviet in the form of legislation to our country's higher agencies.

The congress adopted a charter and memorandum and elected a large council. Khariys Verkhovskis, chairman

of the Sadarbiba cooperative, was unanimously elected President of the Latvian Union of Production Cooperatives. Delegates to the All-union congress of cooperatives in the production and service spheres, which will be held in Moscow this summer, were also elected. The question of the need to create a trade union of production cooperative workers was resolved.

Given all the novelty of this event, we cannot help but note that the congress of cooperative members all the same was not able to avoid the characteristic costs associated with the creation of new public organizations. At times, the primary goal for which hundreds of people had gathered, was lost in emotions, while certain delegates, to all appearances, were inclined only to talk, but not listen. Disagreement was not always kept up to proper standards. This, in large part, is explained by the fact that some of the congress' decisions, in the opinion of specialists, were juridically flawed. I think that the results of the congress will be discussed well into the future, and that the results of a sociological survey of the delegates taken these past days, will also provide food for thought. Time will make the final assessment.

#### **Lithuanian Official Justifies Restoration of National Symbols**

18000834 Minsk ZNAMYA YUNOSTI in Russian  
2 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Yonas Guretskas, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium conducted by V. Mikulichus, NOVOSTI Press Agency correspondent: "Restoration of the Forgotten"]

[Text] Vilnius—The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR passed legislative acts concerning the national language, flag and anthem. The secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, Yonas Guretskas, talks about what caused this.

[Mikulichus] Was it necessary to pass a law in order to confer the Lithuanian language national status? Lithuanians, who constitute 80 percent of the republic's population, can study their native language both in school and university. There are international scientific centers of Lithuanistics (?) and publishing houses which publish large circulations of artistic and scientific literature and periodicals . . .

[Guretskas] Of course, the Lithuanian culture, including the language and Lithuanian science, are constantly developing. The Lithuanian language, as one of the most archaic Indoeuropean languages, is not only studied in the Soviet VUZes, but also in the higher institutions of learning of other countries.

Nevertheless, under conditions of centralization of the administration of the national economy and science of the country, the range of application for the Lithuanian language in our republic is gradually shrinking. The

internal erosion of its vocabulary and grammatical structure has made great inroads. For the native language is the main characteristic of each nation, its greatest national treasure.

The resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference states: "Show great concern for the active functioning of national languages in different spheres of national, social and cultural life." By passing a law concerning the national language, the deputies are following its decision.

[Mikulichus] One fifth of the population of Lithuania is composed of different nationalities. Does this law not infringe upon their rights?

[Guretskas] Not at all. For in an addendum to the republic's Constitution, it clearly states: "The Lithuanian SSR supports the use of the Lithuanian language in the activity of governmental and public agencies, in the sphere of national education, science, production, in other institutions, at enterprises and in organizations . . . Conditions are being created for the development of other languages used in the Lithuanian SSR, for learning the Russian language and using it as a means of international communication with peoples of the USSR."

No one intends to reduce, for example, the number of Russian or Polish schools. On the contrary, conditions for the development of other national cultures in the republic are to be improved, and those who wish to learn the Lithuanian language will have favorable opportunities.

[Mikulichus] What are the motives for changing the national symbols?

[Guretskas] Perestroika in Soviet society has increased interest in the history of each nation and the development of culture and art. With the increase in public activity, the interest in national symbols and traditional national holidays, which were unjustifiably forgotten, is also increasing. In Lithuania, Mother's Day, Yonines (similar to the Ivan Kupala holiday), Memorial Day and others, are among these holidays. Now they are being restored.

[Mikulichus] Why did the yellow-green-red flag, the Vitis Emblem and the "National Song" in particular become national symbols?

[Guretskas] During the various historical stages of the Lithuanian state, white and red were the dominant colors in the emblems and flags. In national art, particularly on holiday banners, yellow, green and red predominated. These three colors were the basis of the National Emblem (but not the flag) of the Lithuanian SSR in 1940. Therefore, taking into consideration the opinion of public organizations, workers' collectives and certain citizens, the yellow-green-red flag was declared the national one. The design of the Vitis Emblem (the champion on a white horse against a red background) and other emblems and symbols of ancient Lithuania

should also be considered historically formed national symbols. The "National Song" occupies an important place among them, the author of which was writer Vintsas Kudirka (1858-1893). The session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic declared it the National Anthem of the Lithuanian SSR.

[Mikulichus] Were these symbols previously banned by some government document?

[Guretskas] There was no official ban on them. The "National Song" was used as the National Anthem of the republic until 1950. But during the years of the Stalin cult and stagnation period, the national symbols mentioned proved to be de facto, as though outlawed, without the declaration of official decrees, although they were mentioned in encyclopedias and retained in some architectural monuments. Now these symbols have been restored throughout Lithuania. The "National Song", which calls for morality, labor, light, love of the Homeland and unity, can be heard every day on republic radio.

**Lithuanian MVD Briefing on Ionava Accident**  
*18000909 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian*  
25 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[Article by L. Koritskaya, SOVETSKAYA LITVA Correspondent: "Ionava: The Talk of the Town"]

[Text] Yesterday a briefing for journalists of republic periodical publications, radio, and television took place in the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. It was conducted by the republic Minister of Internal Affairs Lt Gen S. Lisauskas. He informed those gathered about the state of affairs in the liquidation of the accident in the Ionava production association Azotas.

The intense, selfless work of hundreds and thousands of people which went on uninterrupted day and night produced its tangible results. Already on the third day after the beginning of the accident, the danger was averted, and the chemical reaction of the decomposition of nitrofoska was stopped.

But the main thing was that 34,000 people, whose lives turned out to be under threat, were evacuated to secure places.

The specially organized headquarters acted in a coordinated manner. Responsibilities were distributed in such a clear and well-thought-out way that it was not necessary to give anyone at all additional directives or orders. Physicians did their work of saving people's lives. Militia workers provided the imperative public order. Firemen bravely battled the forces of nature.

Timely informing of the population helped avoid panic and haste. The Ionava residents who were to be evacuated tightly closed their apartments and houses by request of militiamen and went to the gathering place in

an organized manner. It is noted that there was not a single attempt to break the public order or to take advantage of the general trouble.

The moving out of people took place without confusion or haste. Cars and transport worked without turning on sirens, in order not to cause any panic. True, some families tried to remain at home, but they were convinced otherwise.

The accident happened on Monday, and already early Tuesday morning the city was as if extinct, eliciting involuntary alarm and sadness.

On the streets, only people in militia uniforms who had patrol duty were in charge. At the site of the accident, work went on incessantly. Those in whose hands by duty of service lay the fate of Ionava and other nearby population centers did not leave the dangerous place.

Ministry Party Committee Secretary Yu. Krauvalis, who was present at the briefing, reprimanded certain mass media for inexact information in publications. He categorically stated that there was no fire at the Azotas association. A chemical reaction took place. But in order to avert an ignition in the production premises in the first days, the biggest burden fell on the firemen, and afterwards gasmen and soldiers joined in the work.

Since there has been no similar accident in the country, it turned out to be difficult to reach a decision immediately on how to stop the reaction. But then, on the recommendation of scientists, specialists poured large quantities of water over the nitrofoska. It was immeasurably difficult to work in such conditions.

Chief of the Lithuanian SSR Fire Department I. Baranov spoke with bitterness about the poorly-equipped state of the Fire Department:

"All forty years of my work it has been necessary to speak about the absence of work clothing for firemen. While a miner goes down in a mine in work clothes and a hard hat equipped with a light, we must at times find our way by feel in complete darkness and in gas masks. And if it is necessary to give commands, we must take off our mask and strain up to the breaking point screaming. In one hand you carry the megaphone, and in the other illumination. How long will we just state that in firefighting we have regression but no progress? Scientists, who cannot find effective means, have a large duty to firemen. One cannot work all the time on enthusiasm alone. We have to pay a very great price for this—in human lives," concluded I. Baranov.

Our newspaper has already reported on the tragic death of a sergeant of the internal service and commander of a division Genrik Narkevich, who, working under extreme conditions, did not think of his own safety.

The Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs intends to establish the G. Narkevich rotating prize for the best fire department workers. His name will be eternally carried on the memorial lists of internal affairs workers who perished in the line of duty.

The selfless work on the liquidation of the accident and its consequences continues. At the present time, the number of dead is seven people, according to a preliminary count, and 63 people are victims. How many and who will still turn out to be victims of the past tragedy is difficult to say. At the present time, physicians are conducting meticulous examinations of people. The work of the special commission for discovery of the causes of the accident is being continued, and examinations are being conducted. And how else; after all, we are talking about one more unforeseen tragic event, the numbers of which are recently becoming much too frequent. And it is not unlikely that someone's negligence and carelessness will again be declared one of the causes.

#### Scientist Comments on Exodus from Ignalina AES Area

18000908 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
25 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by R. Duzhinskas, candidate of economics: "We Continue the Discussion: Not Just to Know, But to Act"]

[Text] This newspaper has frequently provided a forum to scientists, power engineering personnel and representatives of the public to reflect on the present and future of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant [AES]. In SOVETSKAYA LITVA, Doctor of Technical Sciences V. Kaminskas, in the article, "Will the Ignalina AES Prove To Be Safe?" while examining the structural features of this type of reactor, leaves his question unanswered, as have the authors of a number of previous articles. Without question, the involvement of a broad spectrum of public opinion in the analysis of so serious a problem is a necessary and vital matter. However, it is a two-sided coin. Today, at a time when the question of nuclear power plants has not been answered once and for all, people live and work in the areas where plants operate. It is not hard to suppose that these views, and the entire discussion of nuclear power plants in the mass media in general, provide them little peace of mind or comfort. The author of the article published below ponders measures to neutralize this discomfort.

In recent decades a number of ecologically dangerous or "dirty" facilities have been built and are operating on Lithuanian territory. Whether their construction and operation were always conditioned by the republic's need for their output or by the requirements of the efficient development and deployment of productive forces is a major and necessary topic of discussion. It is needed if only to avoid mistakes in the future. But that is not the subject at hand. What must be done so that the residents of territories adjacent to these facilities feel

completely safe, and that they experience no psychological discomfort, which gives rise to various psychological disorders (for example, radiation phobia—the fear of radiation)? After all, it is due to this discomfort, even if imaginary rather than based on reality, that migration of the population from the territories in question is on the rise, with all of its ensuing consequences (economic, social, demographic, national).

There are several areas in Lithuania in which these extreme conditions prevail—the areas encompassing Mazheykyay, Ionava and Kedaynyay, and Ignalina and Zarasay. The attitudes of these regions' residents were accurately reflected in the article "To Know By More Than Hearsay" by E. Brazis, chairman of the Lenino Atminimas kolkhoz, which was published in SOVETSKAYA LITVA on January 22, 1989. As a result of being ill-informed about radiation, many residents are "becoming alarmed, and from this, it's not far to panic." The author sees a way out of this situation by changing the forms and methods of work by the civil defense agencies, and primarily, by fundamentally improving the provision of instruments to residents and enterprises in the zone of the Ignalina AES for the purpose of constantly monitoring the level of radiation and quickly being informed of changes in it. While fully agreeing both with the posing of the question and with the proposals, I would like to delve more deeply into the problem, both in terms of an analysis of the socioeconomic situation in the countryside of Ignalina and Zarasay rayons, and in terms of measures that must be developed and implemented to improve it.

Agricultural production is inconceivable without the presence of three factors: land, means of production and man. The question as to just what the quantitative correlation of these factors should be has been repeatedly discussed both by theoreticians and practitioners. Yet, we can say with certainty that without the presence of a specific number of workers possessing the necessary skills, the means of production and land are just dead weight. Just what is the social and demographic situation in the countryside in the rayons whose residents are a stone's throw from the Ignalina AES?

From 1985-1988 the rural population in Ignalina rayon dropped on average by 2.5 percent each year, and in Zarasay rayon by 1.7 percent, while the index for the republic was 0.95 percent. At the same time, there is a clearly expressed upward trend in the average annual rate at which the rural population decreased in Ignalina rayon—from 1.6 percent in the 1970s, to 1.9 percent in 1980-1985, to the value cited above. I think that this fact is known to all who are responsible for the rayon's comprehensive development.

In order to understand this process, let us turn again to the statistical data.

Rural areas of Ignalina rayon lost 18.8 people for every 1000 residents in 1987 due to population migration,

which in absolute terms, equals 381 people; for Zarasay rayon, the respective figures are 16.2 and 254 people. We note that in terms of the intensiveness of the migration of the rural population in the year in question (unfortunately, data for 1988 are still not available), Ignalina rayon is in first place and Zarasay rayon is in seventh place in the republic.

At this point the reader may ask me, "What does this have to do with the Ignalina AES? Isn't the author trying to make the AES a scapegoat, or in other words, to make life more difficult for the plant workers, who incidentally, already have enough problems as is. And all the more so, when the "classic" reasons for migration are differences in the levels of economic and social development of specific territorial units.

Unfortunately, we cannot yet accurately say what role the AES plays in the increased migration of the rural populations of Ignalina and Zarasay rayons, although certain circumstantial data support the existence of such a correlation.

First, there is a correlation between the dynamics of the number of people engaged in agricultural production and distance from the AES. We convinced ourselves of this by dividing all of the farms in Ignalina rayon into three groups: The first group consisted of farms at which the number of people employed over the past three years dropped by 10 percent or more; a second group, at which the reduction totalled up to 10 percent; and a third group composed of farms at which the number of workers increased. Calculating the average arithmetic value of distance from the AES, it was determined that the closer to a reactor, the greater the migration.

The second circumstance that attests, so it seems to us, to the influence of AES on migration of the rural population is the growth in its intensity in recent years in each of the aforementioned rayons. In Ignalina rayon, it was 25 percent greater in 1986 than in 1985, and in Zarasay rayon 33 percent greater, while in 1987 compared with 1986, the figures are 8 and 28 percent greater, respectively. However, here, perhaps, it was not so much the Ignalina AES, which was already in operation, that in and of itself played the primary role, so much as the accident in Chernobyl (April, 1986), after which many people's attitude toward nuclear energy changed sharply.

None of this, however, is direct proof. In order to give a better substantiated answer, we must conduct a special sociological investigation that would enable us to answer the question as to just what is the level of radiation phobia among the zone's residents, and what are the trends in the actual and potential migration (after all, many people went to work at the plant or in Snechkus as drivers, construction workers, etc.), and its differentiation into social, demographic, professional, national and other categories.



It seems to us that these questions must be studied not simply for curiosity's sake, but with a view to developing proposals for managing social and demographic processes. Unfortunately, the Lithuanian SSR State Committee on the Agricultural Industry, having financed the development of a methodology for such research (the work was carried out by the Lithuanian Scientific Research Institute for Agricultural Economics, jointly with the Belorussian branch of the All-Union Institute of Agricultural Radiology, whose associates are studying similar problems in the zone of the Chernobyl AES), refuses to finance further study. And not because they considered such research irrelevant, unnecessary or useless. On the contrary! The reason was simple—no funds.

Of course, it's easy for us researchers to complain to the State Committee on Agricultural Production or the State Committee on Environmental Protection, to whom we also turned. Yet it is completely logical to pose the question differently: Why, strictly speaking, must the agricultural industry, and more specifically, agricultural workers, by whose labor these monetary funds have been created, be the ones to finance those who will study the existing situation? After all, the agricultural workers didn't cause it! Besides, who will guarantee that the proposals developed will be put into practice? This brings one to the fully logical conclusion that the masters of the AES themselves, that is, the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Energy, whom, it is true, we have not approached as yet, should finance this work.

At the same time, this work should not be limited merely to studying the causes of psychological discomfort and the parameters of migration, but should also include a number of other questions. Here are several of them. What instruments should be provided to agricultural production enterprises and residents in the zone? What links in economic activity are most vulnerable during an accident? What preventive measures should be taken in order to reduce losses to agricultural production? What should the social and economic norms be for preparing a locality and production facilities to operate under conditions of radioactive contamination in the extended period needed to eliminate the consequences of an AES accident? And finally, it is very important to develop methods for the normative assessment of losses to agro-industrial production, and the conditions and sources for its compensation in instances of actual territorial contamination. What measures should be implemented at processing industry enterprises in order to obtain "clean" output? There are many questions and few answers. And even fewer practical steps taken.

Opponents may object that such measures might merely reinforce the fear about which E. Bargis wrote. I can respond to that in several ways, for example: Don't we fear fire in our homes, and even though we don't believe it will happen, don't we prepare for it? It is comforting that in recent times the thought that we must take up the

serious study of processes extending beyond the boundaries of the AES is also being reflected in the national press (cf. ZNANIYE—SILA [Knowledge is Power], 1989, No. 1).

Needless to say, sizeable funds, which must be allocated from centralized sources, will be required to implement the measures that are developed. However, the benefits justify this. After all, till now we have looked at man, in large part, as an adjunct to the means of production, and not as our very greatest asset. The bitter experience of Chernobyl and other major accidents has shown that for a ruble "saved", millions then needed to be spent. Are we really so rich?

### Past Crimes Revealed, Investigated

**Lithuanian Freedom League Activists Attacked**  
18001051 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
5 May 89 p 3

[Article by V. Zhilyus: "The Past Cannot Be Crossed Out; How Fighters Are Gathering in the Lithuanian Freedom League"]

[Excerpts] *We greeted with indignation the news about the meeting of the Lithuanian Freedom League held on 12 February in Varnyay which slandered the Lithuanian Communist Party and defamed its post-war activists and defenders of the people. Such leaders as Bubulas from Kaliningrad Oblast, Navitskas and Perlavichyus from Tyalshyay, Laurinskas from Taurage, Vashkis from Klaypeda, and certain others have called themselves fighters for freedom in the post-war period. We did not see such fighters at that time. We saw only instigators of the people and terrorists who organized killings, unashamed of their means. We could imagine many examples of what methods were used to accomplish this...*

*We believe that such attacks by the leaders of the Freedom League once again lead to instigation and dissent of the nation. Is this not an effort to return to the methods of struggle of the post-war years, when the blood of innocent people was spilled? We do not recognize such freedom fighters.*

[Signed] Post-war activists, veterans of war and labor from the city of Telshyay (29 signatures).

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*When this letter was prepared for print, the article of V. Zhilyus was submitted to the Tiesa publishing house. It expanded upon the letter of the Telshyay residents and partially answered the questions raised in it.*

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Perestroika appeals for rebirth. Yet it also opens up the old wounds of the people. This has been stated not only

in the circle of historians and intellectuals and in the press, but also within families and at meetings.

Lithuania celebrated 16 February in a new way. However, the legalization of this date does not mean that the entire recent past has been crossed out in a single stroke. Among the throngs of people one could also see waving placards: "Eternal glory to the resistance", "We honor the memory of the Lithuanian partisans!", "Honor to those who died for freedom of Lithuania in 1944-1952"...

What are these people, who defended their truth with machine guns in the forests after the war, trying to accomplish at the meetings? Were they all honest, but deceived? Did they all really defend their ideals, think about Lithuania and about the future of its people?

The men about whom we speak are not simpletons. They are stubborn men who have learned the lesson of life in the bunkers and in Siberia. More and more often we hear their voices. They are speaking ever louder. And, as befitting the former "freedom fighters", their organization has included the word "freedom" in its name and called itself the Lithuanian Freedom League. One of its program demands is to erect monuments to the so-called partisans of Lithuania in Vilnius and other places. Not a single one of the league's measures is implemented without their participation.

On 12 February of this year in Varnyay, the Lithuanian Freedom League organized a meeting for the purpose of honoring the memory of the victims of the post-war period. That is how the purpose of the meeting was characterized. But it was Radio Free Europe that dotted all the "i"s. According to its report, Lithuanian partisans who died in the struggle for resistance in the post-war years were honored for the first time in Varnyay. About 10 people spoke at the meeting. Among them were the former partisans Bronyus Navitskas, Yuozas Remeykis, Lyaonas Laurinskas, the former partisan commander Styaponas Bubulas, the former prisoner Yadviga Aleksandravichyute, and a representative from the Lithuanian Freedom League, Antas Terlyatskas.

Who are these people? Let us acquaint ourselves with several archive documents.

Styaponas Bubulas was born in 1917 in the village of Papelkyay in the Viduklskoy volost of Raseynskiy district. He had 28 hectares of land. In 1945 he went into the forest and became Gintautas. Soon after that the "Saturnas" association in which he served was defeated, and Gintautas created the new detachment, "Zhaybas". In 1946 the underground leadership transferred him to the "Laume" association, where he was the chief of the staff administrative section. After that he again returned to "Zhaybas", changed its name to "Vesulas", and himself became Inchyura instead of Gintautas. In 1947 S. Bubulas obtained falsified documents in the name of Stasis Yushkaytis, but even while living in Kaunas he

maintained ties with the group which remained in the forest, up until his arrest in December of 1947.

The League in its program, as well as in its public statements, keeps circumspectly quiet about what the liberated Lithuania will be like—will it be socialist, capitalist, or with bonfires of burning books and communists hung from the lampposts? We might add that judging by the company which the League is gathering, the latter variant is quite realistic. Is it by accident that S. Bubulas is hanging on to it with an inquisitor's stamp for burning five-pointed stars on the bodies of people?

In Vilnius at a meeting in Nagorniy Park and in its appeals, the League agitated against participation in the elections of USSR people's deputies. In Nagorniy Park, "Sayudis" was also reprimanded for not boycotting the elections, for associating with Europarlament, and for embracing its representative A. Klimaytis... Such affirmations by the League as "Whoever is for 'Sayudis' is for power, revolutionaries are becoming clerks!", "No elections!", "The leaders of 'Sayudis' are allowed to the feeding trough of doctors of sciences, philosophers, and musicians"—certainly say a lot.

In the words of the League, everything that is bad is associated only with communists and Russia. It is bad that the three-colored banner is waving, it is bad that the anthem is being sung and 16 February celebrated, that the Cathedral Church has been returned to the faithful, and that "Sayudis" is operating. But it is good that there is a party of democrats which curses everyone with the exception of the Freedom League.

Is it by accident that Lyaonas Laurinskas, who would also like to represent his past differently, is hanging around the Freedom League?

Today L. Laurinskas sometimes meets a woman in Tyalshyay, and tries not to look into her eyes. Elyana Laugalene-Zhimanchyute remembers that the gang of L. Laurinskas, at that time Lyutas, broke into the Zhimanchyute home one night. Ignoring the pleas of the young children, they took the parents of Elyana Zhimanchyute and her 18-year old brother Antanas out into the shed and cruelly murdered them. Their only fault was that Antanas had refused to join the gang and had received his notice and was planning to serve in the Soviet Army.

Such was their struggle for freedom of Lithuania. Such was their resistance movement.

Today S. Bubulas lives in Kaliningrad Oblast, not far from Sovetsk. He actively promotes the Lithuanian language, participates in the activities of the Vidun Cultural Center, and actively helped to organize the honoring of K. Donelaytis. All this is very good. Yet S. Bubulas also visits Lithuania, where he has already

shown himself to be an activist of the Lithuanian Freedom League who thirsts for liberation of Lithuania and who demands the corresponding aid to the "Lithuanian partisans".

In asking for clemency, S. Bubulas begged for pity for his three innocent children. But tell us, did we need the sacrifice of a 15-year old girl who died from a grenade thrown into a window by his own hand?

Today this man and his cohorts find protection not only in the Lithuanian Freedom League. They are trying to play first fiddle also in certain sections of the "Tryamtinis" club, at the same time not only compromising the good idea of the club, but also playing into the hands of those who affirm that there were no people who were innocently deported.

Could it be that most of those who try to depict the post-war time only as a time of "red terror" are suffering from sclerosis? Evidently, not everyone emerging from the forest completely laid down his arms. For some the civil war continues. They have no intention of repenting before the people. In visiting the large and small cities of Lithuania and in organizing meetings they are trying to bring people into a state of confusion and through all their efforts they are trying to get them to turn onto the false path. Have our people not suffered enough victims?

**Commission Reviews Persecution of Nationalists**  
*18001051 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian*  
5 May 89 p 3

[Article by I. Prapestis, docent of Vilnius State University law faculty, member of the State Commission for Investigating the Circumstances Leading to the Events of 1941 and Other Years: "The Beginning of a Difficult Matter; The Tragic Pages of the Past"]

[Excerpts] The foundation of the legal state which we are creating will not be sound if it is built on unsteady ground unclear of violations of legality. The residents of Lithuania have known many of these. Today there are ever more grounds for affirming that our land is a land of gravesites, and often, and most painfully, it is a land of graves without headstones. They appeared, as a rule, each time the foreign armies came and went. Certain local residents also took a hand in the black deeds of the outsiders. This is confirmed by facts on the killing of people in late June of 1941 in Raynyay forest in Telshyayskiy rayon, in the village of Pravenishkes in Kayshyadorskiy rayon, in Panevezhis, and in other places. We must find not only the grave sites which are still unknown and identify the guilty, but we must also see that justice is done. This is the duty and responsibility of the state and of our society. If we fulfill it, we will thereby present a guarantee that we will be able to avoid a repetition of the tragedy of Pirchyupyay, Raynyay and others. At the same time, this would serve as a serious

warning to those who think that they can justify with noble appeals and ideas the mass organized killing of people, humiliation, and violence.

In accordance with the resolution of 4 November 1988, the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers have created a government commission to investigate the circumstances surrounding the events of 1941 and other years (henceforth in the text this will be referred to as the commission). The task of this commission is to gather, clarify, systematize and forward to the republic procurator's office the materials regarding to hitherto unknown or deliberately concealed killings.

The information obtained by the commission already in the first months shows that there are almost no rayons in Lithuania from which there has not been news of killings which up until now have not been investigated, news about those who were arrested and never returned. The commission's work volume continues to grow, since information about the tragic events continues to pour in from various rayons of the republic.

The commission met on 14 April of this year and adopted the decision to hand over to the republic's procurator's office the material on the tragic events which took place at the end of December 1944 in the villages of Klepochyay, Lizday, Rilishkyay, Druskininkay, Taruchenis, Mizhonyay, Piyerishkyay, Vabalay, Bugonis, Ferma, Dubyay, Vyartyulkos, and Kastrishkes in Alitusskiy rayon (the areas are indicated according to the current administrative-territorial division of the republic). Here, according to the reports and letters of witnesses, people were killed, beaten, their homes burned and their property stolen in the last week of December 1944.

Presiding over this bloody bacchanalia was a subdivision of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, which was located at that time in Myarkin. Active support was given by the local members of the self defense detachments from Alov, Myarkin, and Alitus, as well as other activists. There were also women among them. The Lithuanian-speaking executioners did not yield to non-Lithuanians in their cruelty.

This action was planned ahead of time. The villages were surrounded. The chastisers had prepared lists of victims, the local activists pointed out who should be shot, burned, and robbed. The wire used to tie the hands of those arrested was also prepared ahead of time.

Most of the men who were left alive were taken to Myarkina, and then to Alitus, where they were harshly interrogated. The older ones were later released or exiled, while the younger ones were sent to units of the active army. The relatives of the victims were considered to be the family members of a bandit. They were subjected to deportation, persecution and discrimination.

A list of 13 persons suspected of murder or complicity in murder of the men from the above-named villages was forwarded to the republic procurator's office. These persons live in Alitus, Druskininkay, Kaunas, Myarkina, Varena, and other places in Lithuania. The lists are not yet final, and information on other persons is being investigated. The eyewitnesses to these events have also been identified, and for the present 55 of them are known.

The commission concluded that the above-mentioned events require immediate investigation and verification, since a pessimistic attitude is beginning to develop in regard to the delayed resolution of the question of identifying and punishing the guilty parties. Moreover, already now it is clear that for normal investigation of the matter of the Dzukiysk villages, it is necessary to form an investigative group.

We also cannot overlook the fact that most of the eyewitnesses are elderly. Generally, all of them lost relatives and families in December of 1944, a number of them lived many years in exile or were persecuted for no reason. Therefore, these people who strive to restore justice should not be subjected to unpleasant procedures which usually accompany the process of investigating a criminal matter.

The commission expressed the opinion that we must necessarily verify once again and competently evaluate from a legal standpoint the tragedy of the village of Ruseynyay (Kedaynskiy rayon) which as described by the lawyer I. Mashkauskas, a member of the Lithuanian Society of Jurists, in the 29 November 1988 issue of this rayon's newspaper, TARIBINIS KYALYAS. The correspondence stated that in the fall of 1946 in the village of Ruseynyay of Yosvaynskiy district, the estate of Matas Mazheyke was burned and around 20 persons inside were killed (the exact number could not be determined), including the owner's four daughters and his son.

On 28 February 1989, the interview of the senior investigator of the rayon procurator's office, I. Dovidas, was published. Dovidas had conducted the investigation regarding the materials in this article. The interview confirms that the above-mentioned action was performed by a subdivision of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. In the opinion of the investigator, which, we might add, was substantiated by rather contradictory data, there were several bourgeois nationalists in Mazheyke's cottage. However, it was quite precisely determined that the victims offered no resistance to the military. The investigator criticized the lawyer for toying with people's feelings and for inaccurately indicating the amount of land belonging to M. Mazheyke (it turned out that it was not 8, but 15 hectares). At the end of the interview, the following conclusions are drawn: The criminal case on the fact of killing people in the village of Ruseynyay need not be re-opened, because the specific executors of the actions have not been determined. Finally, even if the guilty parties had been identified, they could not be held

criminally liable because the statute of limitations on this matter has already elapsed.

These conclusions are not justified. According to Articles 125 and 128 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Proceedings Code, a criminal matter is brought up not against a specific person, but by reason of the fact of the crime. This must be done within 3 days (in exceptional cases—10 days) from the time of filing the petition or report on the crime. Also, Section 4, Article 49 of the LiSSR Criminal Code states that the court determines the question of time elapsed since the commission of a crime by a certain person, during which by law he may be given the death sentence (for the crime committed in Ruseynyay, which is qualified as murder, such a sentence may be imposed). Thus, in such cases neither the investigator nor the prosecutor has the authority to deny re-opening a criminal matter (or stopping it) on the basis of elapsed time.

At the present time, the prosecutors in several rayons of the republic are verifying the information on the killing of people in 1941 and other years. We cannot let the errors of the procurator's office in Kedaynskiy rayon be repeated.

We must note that the commission's goal is to study the non-investigation of the murders of Lithuanian citizens, regardless of which side committed them and what language they spoke. However, in their letters people ask to focus attention on the crimes of the Stalinists. Of the 288 letters received by the commission thus far, only 32 present accusations against the bourgeois nationalists. This is probably correct, since up until now there was no official discussion about the murder of people in Lithuania before the war, or about the burning of villages along with living people during the Christmas of 1944 and later. More precisely, the discussion of such topics was banned. The thought of identifying the criminals "representing" the authorities did not even occur to most people. The unexpressed pain built up for many years, and today the time has come to restore the full truth.

The commission chairman, Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Yuozas Sheris, has asked the author of this article to publicly thank in print all those people who sent information to the commission. Vitautas Lyadas, a member of the Alitus LDP initiative group, was particularly helpful. We hope for cooperation in the future. The commission needs the help of the residents.

### **Officials Criticized for Lack of Concern for Residents of Chernobyl**

*18000893 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
15 Mar 89 p 4*

[Article by A. Blinov: "Echo of Chernobyl: The Soul Aches for Home"]

[Text] "The Soul Aches for Home" is what former Chernobyl residents are writing in reply to the article 'Birth of

Slavutich," which was published in PRAVDA UKRAINY on 24 December of last year.

When I was working on the article "Birth of Slavutich," I in no way expected such a turn of subject. After all, the material was about something completely different: about the fact that we are at times shockingly careless in our lives and about what this leads to, about where and how to build nuclear power plants, about the development of non-traditional sources of energy, and finally about the responsibility of science to humanity for the fate of the present and future generations and the protection of the environment.

Our readers also write about this with alarm. But one additional thought resounds in each letter and in each telephone call: what happens next with Chernobyl and will normal life return there?

And one more time pain strikes the heart: people long for their homes, where they lived for many years, and where everything was so dear and so their own. No, although it will soon be three years since the moment of the Chernobyl tragedy, time does not heal emotional wounds as fast as it would seem. Or as we would like.

"We regular readers of PRAVDA UKRAINY N. N. Gudima, A. D. Kolesnik, and V. M. Karmanov—disabled World War II veterans, veterans of labor, former permanent residents of Chernobyl, and at the present time residents in the Kiev Oblast city of Irpen—are writing to you. We read the article "Birth of Slavutich" and could not refrain from expressing our agreement with the evaluation of the way things stand in Chernobyl. We will not hide that the soul aches for home, where we lived up to old age.

"We have been following the publications in the press about the accident at the Chernobyl AES, and we come to the conclusion that no one, including our science, is in a position to draw positively a conclusion about the influence of radiation on a living organism. All conclusions are based on assumptions. But how painfully this affects us, those evicted from our native places and at the end of our lives as well, when only a few steps remain to the finish line."

The authors are struck by the fact that even these days the city of Chernobyl is "overpopulated" by people of the most varied ages, from youngsters—18 to 25-years-old—up to senior citizens. How is this to be understood, the more so if word slips into the press about the fact that a 30-kilometer zone is doomed to be uninhabited for many decades and only "specially trained people" may be here? What special school did these people go through, the concerned authors ask and give these examples: "In summertime, the majority there goes around with bodies half bare (especially the women), without any kind of respirators; they gather berries and fruit, they bathe in the Pripyat' river, they tan on the beach, and they eat fresh fish from local reservoirs..."

If this is indeed so, then there is something to be surprised about. First and foremost, about the nonresistance to harm of the inhabitants of the polluted city themselves. And also about the strange position in this regard on the part of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health. What, the city of Chernobyl has in fact become so ecologically pure, in which it is possible to lead a normal way of life? Or, as one youth newspaper recently wrote, "our radiation," (in the opinion of certain specialists of the Ministry of Health—A. B.) "is the best radiation in the world?"

Why such complacency? Why do people subject themselves to risk? "Clearly," sum up comrades Gudima, Kolesnik, and Karmanov, "many of those who are presently in Chernobyl are pursuing one goal: to snatch their tidbit from the state pie which has been allocated for liquidation of the consequences of the accident. Here they forget even about personal health. And if the radiation condition in the city has normalized, does it mean that old residents may return to their houses?"

A reasonable question. From myself I will say: no, dear Chernobyl residents, to return to the warm nest is for the moment impossible. It is too early. And when it will be possible I do not know. I am not a specialist in this matter. But the silence on this account of knowledgeable people also surprises me, as it does you too, a great deal. The silence of the physicians, for example. Or of workers of the All-Union Radiological Center, which is located, as is known, in Kiev. They should know. They should explain to people the situation and put themselves in their shoes. In the abundant series of information surrounding the Chernobyl tragedy, only just this, purely everyday kind is absent. And the various discussions of journalists, however reassuring they might be, are nevertheless far from the truth.

It is a pity that our official organs frequently still do not engage in a direct conversation with the masses. And even quite recently, it turns out that it took the arrival of M. S. Gorbachev at the Chernobyl AES and in the city of Slavutich in order to at least partially remove the fog from the problem that interests people. It turned out that there are at least 15 perfectly clean population centers in the 30-kilometer zone where people can live. When will it be possible to settle them anew? Again, it is unknown, again silence. And the people worry and ask: which villages are these, who may plan to hit the road? The General Secretary of the KPSS Central Committee went away, and the problem is closed up again.

Former Chernobyl residents, scattered now across cities and provinces, ask the republic Minister of Public Health A. E. Romanenko and ministry services questions which are not at all idle. It is possible and necessary to understand them too, the migrants. "After all, the overwhelming majority of evicted people expect and count on a return home. This hope gives us vitality,"—this is from the veterans' letter. It is hard on them, and it is for that reason that they say that "only one who has

himself borne a similar thing can understand a person who has lost his homeland."

It would seem that who, other than these people, needs first and foremost sympathy and a kind word from the powers and public organizations? But in the mail there are letters to the editor, the authors of which tell about situations which are forming not in their favor but in favor of the bureaucrats. One may often hear in response to a request of Chernobyl residents: these nuclear fire victims again! Everything is too little for them, although they received what was allotted.

Yes, the state was not stingy and gave out to the evacuated everything that was necessary. But here I read: "And who will compensate moral losses? Who will gather family and relatives under one roof? Who will return friends and buddies with whom any kind of contact is lost? Many people even now do not know the places of arrival of their acquaintances."

This is why "we perceive the appearance in the press of any optimistically-inclined article regarding the 30-kilometer zone and about possible life in it with enormous joy, crossing over to exultation. And, on the other hand, our hearts are wrung not only in the figurative but also in the literal sense if we read hardly reassuring information. So shall our hearts, which have survived so much over long years, really never relax?" veterans Gudima, Kolesnik, and Karmanov finish their letter.

People are waiting for an answer—honest and truthful. "The truth and only the truth can cure us, let it be even bitter. But let it be the truth, that way it would be easier to breathe," in a refrain resound words from the letter of P. A. Luk'yanitsy, a resident of the city of Bakhmach of Chernigov Oblast. He never lived in Chernobyl but sympathizes with the Chernobyl residents with all his heart. As their former fellow villager A. K. Mudryy, who now lives in Korosten in the Zhitomir oblast, sympathizes (his words are "The zone should not be left as a dead desert; it should be restored to life. And only native dwellers—true patriots of their kray, and not those by whose guilt the accident happened and who now reap dividends from it—can do this."), as other people, who responded to the publication of "Birth of Slavutich," sympathize and take to heart the trouble of Chernobyl residents.

What could be said in conclusion? There are no words; the problem of people evacuated from the region of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant was and remains acute, akin to an unhealing wound. One feels oppressed by the separation from one's own little corner, where one was born, grew, and aged. Where the bodies of parents and close ones lie. Where the sweet-to-the-heart Pripyat' flows by and where in spring apples and pears bloom so magnificently. The former Chernobyl residents call these lands, which are, we will say directly, not very rich in black soil but on the other hand abundant in sands, various things. But the main thing - homeland - is

present in literally each phrase and word-formation. Be it small or micro, but homeland. For it is one. And how important that in the new place of residence too in the soul of each Chernobyl resident of yesterday appeared the same close sensation of kinship to the land, to the surroundings, and to the people.

Everyone around can help the migrants in this—old timers, local organs of power, and public organizations. But one should not lose, one thinks, the old attachments. And now it is up to the Chernobyl residents themselves. Almost three years have gone by. A period which is sufficient in order to rouse oneself a bit, to settle down, and to get accustomed to things around a bit. Possibly, to create comradery according to the principle of association of fellow countrymen, in order to mend previous ties. I suggest that the local Soviets of People's Deputies, on whose territory the newcomers now live, will not remain on the sidelines in this noble matter.

If this suggestion is acceptable, dear comrades, put your thoughts in letters to the editor of the newspaper.

### **Readers Support, Criticize Ukrainian People's Movement**

#### **Issue Causes Public Response**

*18000787 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
28 Feb 89 p 3*

[Article containing letters from readers to the editorial staff of PRAVDA UKRAINY: "We Are Continuing the Conversation: A Critical Frame of Mind"]

[Text] In the mail to the editorial staff concerning the draft of the program of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroika, as well as the publications of our readers on this matter, in particular, the article by eminent Kievian social scientists "Revolutionary Perestroika Is a Vital Matter to the People" (18 Feb 89), there are letters, the authors of which suggest the responses in support of the above-named movement be printed.

We will tell you straight out that such responses are few. Moreover, they can not be considered responses in essence for all practical purposes. More likely, they are general discourses about everything without exception or simply tactless opinions about individual persons. The editorial staff of PRAVDA UKRAINY is blamed for the fact that it has not published the draft of the Ukrainian People's Movement's program in the pages of its own newspaper and for the fact that the printed letters in response to the program draft sound, as a rule, critical of its authors.

What can be said about this? Yes, the editorial staff did not publish this document and no one suggested to PRAVDA UKRAINY that it be published or even give an indication that it should. It has been printed in LITERATURNIA UKRAYINA, but the responses came to and continue to come to the republic's party newspapers. These responses are of a clearly expressed critical

nature—and are addressed to the composers of the draft and concern specifically its individual clauses. Hence, the frame of mind of the publications, part of which are also featured in this selection.

### Is This Really Criticism?

On 8 February, during the supertime break, on Ukrainian Radio's First Program, they transmitted a broadcast about the meeting with (or speech of) the well-known writer, Pavel Zagrebelnyy, whom I respect. I approve of much of what Zagrebelnyy said in his speech and his answers to questions about the destinies of the Ukrainian people, their language and their culture.

The following disturbed me greatly. In talking about the reasons for the delay in the publication of one of his own works, P. Zagrebelnyy referred to "procurators," having noted in particular that former USSR Procurator General Rekunkov had not read this novel, inasmuch as it had been written in Ukrainian. And farther on (so I heard): "Chernenko also did not read it, for he [vzagali] read nothing..." This caused approving applause and laughter in the hall. It seems to me that such a statement about the former CPSU Central Committee general secretary, justly reproachable at the present time, I consider to be unworthy of any member of the USSR Union of Writers, much less P. Zagrebelnyy.

In the speech of another Ukrainian writer, Vladimir Yavorivskiy, broadcast during the daytime on radio and television, it was mentioned that "the party needs to be cleansed..."

The question is why the entire party is identified with an individual personality or even a group of persons, who have not justified its trust. This is not constructive criticism, but rather, simply an indecent attack.

*[Signed] E. Levitskiy, Kirovograd.*

### Support Is Our Business

We were compelled to write this letter by the draft of the program of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka, which was printed in the Ukrainian writers' newspaper.

We found nothing new in this document in comparison with what the party enunciated and is subsequently implementing in its own perestroyka program. Judging by everything, they spent a long time writing this document. The question is—was this not a waste of time? Today, there are not very many interesting books at all about village life. Or more accurately—there are none!

It seems to us that it would be better for the writers to meet more often with us, to converse longer with us and to consult more attentively with us and not issue a manifesto without asking our consent and without knowing our opinion.

For ourselves, we see perestroyka in the need to provide the people with more in the way of livestock output. Among us, for example, are many milkmaids who have, over the last year, milked 3,000 kg and more of milk per cow. We know that this is not the limit and that it is necessary to produce more. This is how we understand perestroyka—business and only business. And we have no time for conversations.

*[Signed] Lyubov Tveretinova, Sumy Oblast, chairman of the rayon club of 3,000-kg milkmaids, on behalf of the milkmaids' collective of the Belozerskoye division of the Konotopskiy Rayon's Dubovyazovka Sugar Combine.*

### Look Around

My conscious life began in the Donbas in 1935. Such is the basic ethnic make-up here: Ukrainians, Russians and Belorussians (in approximately equal numbers). Not once, I emphasize, not once, either before the war or after it or now, have I encountered anything reminiscent of ethnic discord. Why is it necessary to concoct something now? My father is a "pure" Russian and my mother is a "pure" Ukrainian. So what am I? Why is it necessary to raise forcibly an immaterial question?

Our party has repeatedly hit "bumps" and stumbled but has never fallen. And it never will. I will soon have been in the party for 30 years now and I am not getting ready to leave it (let alone join some invented "people's movement").

I have a suggestion for you, the authors of the draft. Now, of course, it is fine to sit in Kiev. It is warm and cozy. But you would do better to separate into groups, or even as individuals, and come to visit us in the Donbas. There are enough enterprises for all. Come, look, get acquainted, write something about us, talk something over with us. This will be good business. But that in which you are now engaged is, forgive me, idleness and satiety.

It may be that I have erred in something, but I have written from my heart.

*[Signed] L. Gorokhov, doctor, Gorlovka.*

### In a Few Lines

We request that the editorial staff transmit to the authors of the Movement for Perestroyka that we will not recognize this "movement"; we have been moving along the path of perestroyka for 4 years now and we are not moving very fast, perhaps, through the fault of those forces who do more arm-waving at the rostrums, forgetting about the matter entrusted to them.

*[Signed] I. Gorovoy, V. Oleynik, N. Boyko, N. Ryabtseva et al.—in all, there were 19 signatures of blue-collar and white-collar workers and teachers from the settlement of Razliv, the Velikonovoselovskiy Rayon, Donetsk Oblast.*

Today we began attending the first class of the great school called democracy and glasnost. Let us be exemplary pupils and not overgrown know-it-alls, who broke a lot of firewood through ignorance and through impatience toward those who think differently.

*[Signed] V. Mantusov, veteran of war and labor, Oster, Chernigov Oblast.*

We all understand that the main thing today for the country is feeding the people. The food-production program is a nation-wide matter. But in the draft of the program of the Movement for Perestroyka, I did not find any weighty utterances about the food-production problem.

*[Signed] Ya. Malykhin, a participant in the war and a pensioner, Berdichi, Yasinovatskiy Rayon, Donetsk Oblast.*

The national revival is not on the path of self-isolation. Jointly is somehow more reliable and more daring. Only socialism reunited the Ukrainian lands. I decided to remind those who have begun to put on airs about this.

*[Signed] I. Golubenko, teacher, Kazatin, Vinnitsa Oblast.*

#### To Convince by Words

At the beginning of February of this year, we had a shop meeting which discussed the fulfillment of the collective agreement for last year and the draft of the contract for the year to come. The speakers, N. T. Kurko, A. N. Serbin, V. F. Perepelyak and other workers, talked about what disturbed them and criticized those people through whose fault the individual sections of the collective agreement were still up in the air. What was the main thing heard at the gathering? Specific suggestions for strengthening the organization of labor and for improvement of everyday life.

It may be that many people did not like the gathering because of its acuteness. However, after thoroughly thinking over what was said, those who were dissatisfied, I think, will change their own point of view, agree with the criticism and try henceforth to work better.

I will compare our gathering with what I saw on the television. Ours, a workers' gathering, proceeded better, in a more balanced manner and, I would say, in a more civilized manner. At it, there were no malicious outcries or speeches from the threshold of those who reject another's thinking. I do not know, what so alarms certain writers and why do they attack with such malice those who think differently from them?

We have a lot of shortages. They are evident to all and, perhaps, better to us than to the Kievan writers. Kiev's stores can not be compared to ours. But, really, by shouting about it, in no matter what language, will you fill the shelves with nice goods? I do not think that you

will fill them. In any case, first of all, it is necessary to see what unites the people and not what divides them and to see what generates trust and respect between them and not what generates malice and discord.

Did the experience of the building of the Tower of Babel really teach nothing? God took away from the people the language understood by all and, instead of harmonious work, there was chaos and disorganization.

I am not signing for all the workers or all the people, but for those workers whom I know and with whom I work side-by-side, who will not pursue criticism like those we saw on the television screen.

It is bad when an orator is not capable of convincing a person by weighty words and, instead, starts shouting.

*[Signed] A. Shapovalov, machinist of the fine metals plant, Svetlovodsk, Kirovograd Oblast.*

**Editor's Note.** Taking into account the public response caused by the publication of the draft of the program of the Ukrainian People's Movement, the editorial staff intends henceforth to pay attention to this theme. It may be that we will not be able to publish all the letters received, but we warmly thank in advance their authors—all those who found time and expressed their own point of view on this burning question. We are looking forward to our further active cooperation.

#### Intelligentsia Defends Movement

18000787 Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian  
28 Feb 89 p 3

[Article containing letters from readers of RABOCHAYA GAZETA to the editorial staff: "Impatience and Intolerance"]

[Text] The stream of letters, in which our readers touch upon one or another of the questions which have become the subject of discussion in connection with the draft of the program of the Ukrainian People's Movement, with the speeches at the gathering of Kievan writers and with the articles in the press, is not diminishing. The editorial staff has already received 215 letters. We are presenting some of them in today's selection. The first of them, obviously, requires some explanation. It is possible that not all of our readers managed to see the television broadcast from Donetsk, where M. S. Gorbachev met with miners. In speaking there, worker A. I. Lyashok expressed his own bewilderment in connection with the excessive, in his opinion, passions regarding the Ukrainian language.

Dear Comrade A. I. Lyashek! (Editor's note: a worker who spoke at M. S. Gorbachev's meeting with the miners in Donetsk.) In Your speech during the meeting with M. S. Gorbachev, words were heard which are surprising and demand everyone's attention, but which are somewhat reminiscent of a poor memory of time.



Since our childhood and school days, we have been convinced that our Soviet intelligentsia is an integral part of the people and a spokesman for its interests. Even in the universities, we were taught at the expense of the people and we greedily and persistently, frequently at the expense of rest and youthful diversions, acquired knowledge—we studied the culture of all ages and peoples in order to then return it to the people and to draw it closer to them. And further—so that creative thought would not stagnate and would continue to develop, for, as is well known, man does not live by bread alone.. or even by sausage.

And our literature, from time immemorial, has been—and remains!—the voice of the people and its conscience. Who empowered T. Shevchenko to write: "... I glorify the small [otykh] serfs [nimykh]! I [na storozhi kolo] them will give the WORD..."? Or A. P. Tychin to write: "I [yest'] the people [yakogo pravdy] strength has still not been [zvoyovana] by anyone..."? How much A. Dovzhenko suffered for the word of truth about the tragedy of the people expressed in the script for "The Ukraine in Flames"! Why, during the years of the attack of pragmatism and indifference, did O. Gonchar, in the novel "The Synod" raise his voice in defense of the spirituality of his own people, which only then could preserve itself, if it remembered its own roots? And Grigor Tyutyunnik poured out on the pages of his stories and tales his soul, filled with pain for the "simple" man, whose soul's beauty experienced heavy blows! And this was at a time when the "powers-that-be" were noted for sweet-sounding glorification of non-existent fabulous prosperity and exaltation of unrealizable exploits and for assertion of the needlessness of historical memory... Our best writers (a great number of names could be given), through their own honest works, awoke the conscience and, in essence, prepared the way for the coming of those splendid, beneficial changes in our society, which are called Perestroyka. And today, they have a moral right, no—an obligation—to facilitate the further deepening of this progressive and extremely necessary process. And it is precisely with such a goal that the draft of the program of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka—this is the name of the document about which You and Your comrades have only heard, but have not yet had an opportunity to read, since, for the time being, it has been published only by LITERATURNIA UKRAYINA and still has not entirely reached the reader—was established. And it has been proposed that this draft be subjected to **nation-wide discussion** and be subsequently implemented by the entire world—this is why it has been written in the name of the people. It is indeed clear that the writers themselves will not be able to implement even a single one of the measures outlined there, from economics to ecology. (By the way, it is very strange that You ever so barely touched on the ecological problems...—what, is everything so splendid in the Donbas? And here, incidentally, no one empowered the writers, yet they, for some reason, worry about what kind

of air the people will breathe and what kind of water they will drink in the future, both in Your district and everywhere...).

Even in that matter which is our direct concern—the revival of the native language—we ourselves will do nothing, without Your participation. What was said by You about the Ukrainian language, we perceive as an unfortunate (maybe, due to emotion) expression. Because we can not imagine that a modern, thinking person would tolerate the needlessness of the existence of something which may not be eaten or worn: indeed, it is thus possible to reach the point where no kind of thought or culture in general is necessary... And what is the good of a folk song or churches with their own icons or the symphonic orchestras, the pictures, the sculptures and so on? No, You did not say such. You had in mind "only" the fact that the Ukrainian language is not necessary—even to You, a Ukrainian... We will not now attempt to imagine such an absurdity with respect to the representatives of any civilized nation—the English, the Japanese, the French and others. We will not now analyze the reasons for the emergence of such a perverted opinion. We will even assume that, in the production process, You get by without the words of Your own ancestors. But what about Your intellectual life? Indeed, it would be unthinkable without ROOTS! Indeed, a language does not exist for itself, rather, it is THE primary instrument of the national culture and the intellectual world of the people. Is all this really also unnecessary to You? And You feel no responsibility before the world community of peoples? Indeed, it would be greatly impoverished and would lose an awful lot if one of the richest cultures of the world—the Ukrainian, the culture of our ancestors and Yours—were to perish! And how will Your children and grandchildren live? Through the intellectualness of the neighbors, since their own does not exist, having been dissipated by the parents? And what if the neighbors were to behave the same way (indeed, are the Russian writers seriously worried about the fate of their own national language and culture)? What will we leave to our descendants—"heavy metal" substitutes? Will they thank us for this?

In order to think and worry about all this, it is really necessary to have some kind of special authorizations—and what kind?—a piece of paper with printing on it? We would do better to think together about to whom it may be advantageous to set the people against the writers, who, by their own profession, are obliged to think about the soul of Man. Let us also think more often about how a person differs from a robot or a machine...

[Signed] L. Z. Moroz, Ye. K. Nakhlik, associates of the Literature Institute imeni T. G. Shevchenko, B. D. Spisarenko, R. O. Lun, associates of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, I. V. Nazarenko, L. T. Vasilyeva, A. V. Zholdak, T. G. Bessmertnaya, T. D. Tereshchenko, D. P. Kirik, Z. Yu. Zlochevskaya, associates of the Performing Arts Institute imeni I. K. Karpenko-Karoy, and Ivan Shpital, member of the USSR Union of Writers.

When I heard the speeches of the Kievan writers, it seemed to me that the speakers basically had one thought—the eradication of the Russian language and the forced Ukrainization of all the people. For example, Pavlychko and Chernoguz spoke against educating the people in the spirit of internationalism. They understand democracy as a road with one-way traffic. For example, Pavlychko declared that democracy in the selection of a language should be limited.

I myself am a Ukrainian and I love the Ukrainian language and art. I always enjoy very much watching the television broadcast "Sonyachni klarnety" [Sunny Clarinets]. I agree that it is necessary to popularize and promote the Ukrainian language, literature and art. But this needs to be done without force or importunity. At the same time, it is absolutely necessary to consider the interests of the many millions of non-Ukrainians in the populace. Otherwise, you will divide the people, which may lead to events similar to those in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Baltic Republics. This would inflict great economic damage on our country.

It is necessary to take into consideration the fact that, since time immemorial, Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians have been living and working together and make up a single fraternal people and that we all have one mother—Kievan Rus. Our friendship was sealed with blood during the Patriotic War. There should be equitable bilingualism in the Ukraine. This will be really democratic.

For example, in Finland, only six percent in all of the populace are Swedes and they have equitable bilingualism. In the Ukraine, the percentage of the indigenous Russian population is significantly higher but they want to compel them by force to study the Ukrainian language. A useless undertaking! Each act of coercion causes resistance.

I want to remind the engineers of human souls that perestroika was begun by the Communist Party and it should also continue to head it up and not a handful of pretenders. The concern of the writers, in their own words, is to facilitate the realization of the party's decisions. It is true that not all the writers agree with the "sponsors" of the movement. Many of them have simply not decided to speak out against the authorities, but they will still have their own say.

*[Signed] Nesterenko, Nikolaev.*

I am a Ukrainian woman, 51 years of age. My father is a Ukrainian and my mother is a Russian and the children, our parents have three, studied in a Russian school and studied the Ukrainian language. There were Russians, Ukrainians and Jews in the school. Everyone studied Ukrainian. And no problems ever arose, no matter what language anyone spoke.

And there is more. It is not now necessary to talk loudly about the problems of the Ukrainian language, but rather, somewhat earlier, when it became "fashionable" to free the children from the study of the Ukrainian language and literature in the schools. One was allowed to do it and then another and it went on and on. It reached the point that the Ukrainian language teacher was left with nothing to do. Is this really correct? Where were the present-day "patrons" and "benefactors" of the Ukrainian language then? It was necessary to cry out then at the top of one's voice that this must not be done and not now gather mobs and bring about dissension and expect that something good would come from these mobs.

It was arranged by fate that people of various nationalities were scattered throughout all our enormous country. I live in the Ukraine and I studied the Ukrainian language and, if I had lived in Estonia, I would have studied Estonian and what is bad about this, why should one not study and why should one not know the language of the republic in which one lives, but every inhabitant of our country should know the Russian language and people come from abroad to our country to study the Russian language and they need it, but what about us?

The people of all the nationalities of our enormous Land of the Soviets speak and read in their native language, in the language which is handier for them, if one can say that, and it is not necessary to "press." But, in order for it to be easier for us to live, work and even understand one another, there should be one language which is the "main," official language—Russian.

*[Signed] Alla Vasilyevna Kolesnik, Voroshilovgrad.*

**Bus Drivers in Dzhabul Stage Brief Strike**  
18300534 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 27 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by V. Lebedev, KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent: "The Emergency Was Planned"]

[Text] The Situation: Thousands of Dzhabul residents were late for work on that day in March—for more than five hours almost ninety buses on nine of the most heavily travelled city bus routes did not run their routes; bus traffic between the residential area of the group of sugar refineries and the center of town was interrupted. In the southern part of the city, bus traffic practically came to a standstill.

I hailed a passing taxi and arrived at bus depot No. 2. It is located on the outskirts of the city.

—What is going on here?—I asked an elderly man, who was blocking the entrance to the dispatcher's office.

—We are on strike,—he answered angrily.

I had to pick my way through a throng of people to the "Red Corner", where a meeting should have been just about to begin. The depot was buzzing like a stirred up beehive.

—Does it turn out that I, myself, am pilfering five-copeck coins from the damned fare box?—they asked indignantly to my left. Someone rapped out in a voice ringing with resentment: "Just pass this on to the strikebreakers: we will not allow them to run the bus routes!"

As the drivers, themselves, explained, the deductions from their wages for "shortages"—that is to say the disparity between the cost of the tickets which were torn off and the actual receipts in the fare boxes, were the final straw which exhausted their patience. For example, V. Bardan's fare boxes came up 112 rubles short for nine days work. He had to make up for the shortage from his own pocket.

But is the driver to blame for this? According to statistics, almost every second passenger using public transportation, alas, is a "stowaway" and to tear off a ticket without depositing a five-copeck coin is a simple matter for these people.

V. Kalyuzhnyy, the manager of the bus depot, responded—We pay the drivers a bonus for "shortages" up to eight percent and under the condition that the planned receipts are realized. If the shortage is larger—we deduct the difference from the driver's wages. You know, there are pilferers among us.

—Have you already exposed someone as a thief?

—No, we have not caught a single person. But judge for yourself. Two drivers work on the same bus, but at the end of the shift one of the drivers has "shortages" whereas the other one has no "shortages" at all. And the fare boxes we have are so imperfect that it is simple to break in to them...

It is ironclad logic. But one could also equally well accuse those persons, who recount the money, of appropriating the receipts! However, the driver has been made the "switchman"...

During the discussion, it was learned that there is still a way out. This is using modern semiautomatic fare boxes. The drivers of buses equipped with them do not have "shortages". It is impossible to break in to such fare boxes and also impossible to get a ticket without paying. But there are only three buses equipped with these apparatuses. There aren't any more. Why? Unfortunately, I did not receive a straightforward answer. Whether they stopped producing these fare boxes or they only produce them as optional equipment on buses...

Does this mean an impasse? Not really, in the words of my co-conversationalist, an order for the manufacture of

state-of-the-art fare boxes was recently submitted to the Dzhambul institute of water management. How long until the order is fulfilled?

I telephoned the institute.

V. Konyushikhin, the manager of the workshops, answered my call,—this is the first time I have heard anything about this.

But penalties for "shortages" are only one of the links in a chain of discrepancies, which for a long time now has been bringing to bus depot to a feverish pitch. And, perhaps, the most important of these is the planning of gross profit. In 1986, gross profit increased significantly. And according to the preliminary plans up to 1990, this figure must increase by 561 thousand rubles. That is to say the planning is reckoned from a previous achievement. Today you did your best and exceeded the target and tomorrow your personal achievement becomes the norm. But time does not stand still, the drivers stated, and in recent years strong competitors have cropped up among us—the trolleybuses. But year after year the plan continues to increase. And then the hustling for routes is established: if only one could intercept passengers from the competitors.

But fulfillment of the plan is complicated not only by the fact that the plan is unrealistic and therefore does not motivate the driver. The bus fleet is run-down. For example, just out of the 60 Ikarus-260's on hand, 46 are already due to be written off. But they continue to operate them. This year they will receive only three brand-new buses as replacements. The spare parts situation is very poor...

There are eight points in the list of demands which the drivers' collective presented to the administration. The people do not agree to wage levelling, to the unfounded and unfair penalties, and to the low culture of the work and relaxation. They feel that the culture of serving the passengers, in the broadest sense of the conception, and not profit for passage, should be the main work standard for every driver.

But, nevertheless, why have the drivers chosen such an extreme form of fighting for their rights. Because they are tired of making complaints and "giving warnings". They have stopped believing the numerous promises to look into and correct the matter. The labor collective soviet which is supposed to protect our interests, the drivers stated, has turned into an appendage of the administration. The door to the bus depot's local trade union committee is always closed...

And here is what M. Tatarkin, the bus depot's Party bureau secretary, said in response to the journalists' questions:

—The Party organization plays absolutely no role in this. I fought as hard as I could. I appeared at plenums and everywhere, wherever I had the opportunity,—I can not change anything...

Then the drivers, themselves, resolved to change the situation. Only then did a specially formed committee, chaired by G. Yefremov, the chief of the oblast's Avtotransport administration, and which also included the bus depot's drivers, begin an emergency study of the situation. The buses started running their routes only after the study began.

An isolated incident? It seems not entirely. It seems that the emergency (ChP) was planned beforehand and one must look for its sources in inactivity, indifference to the needs of the enterprise, and a lack of consideration for people.

#### **Fate of 'Typical' Young Afghan Vet Returning to Ashkhabad**

*18300502 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 3*

[Article by M. Bektasov, TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA own correspondent: "Homeland Is More Precious Than Life"]

[Text] We slowly drove on the uneven road along fields. Suddenly, a golden pheasant rose two dozen steps to our left. For some time the beautiful rooster flew at a small height next to the car. Then he leisurely overtook us and disappeared from view behind the reeds near the irrigation ditch in front of us...

"He is not afraid of people," I turned to Mukhammed.

"He knows that on the territory of the forestry establishment no one will touch him," he answered with the content smile of a host, who knows how to astonish his guest.

We drove a little longer and stopped at the field, where, as Mukhammed explained on the road, land was being prepared for planting mulberry trees. With signs he asked the lad sitting at the controls to stop the tractor. The lad muffled the engine and jumped down. Then they began to talk about something, pointing with their hands to the field...

I walked away in order not to disturb them. I looked from the side at the two likable young people and the clear sky... Such a peaceful, settled life exuded from this picture that I could not believe the other life, which Mukhammed had experienced and could not forget.

If one looks at him, his temples, which have begun to turn gray, his taciturnity and reserve, and his eyes, which are serious beyond his years, externally bring to mind today his previous life. This lad grew up early...

He was 19 years old when on 17 June 1981 he arrived at Afghanistan together with other recruits. There he began his service as an ammunition loader. As a crew member he had to fire a gun at distant and invisible rebels, but he did not run into them face to face in combat so that, one can say, he did not smell powder.

One summer day, which was not noted for its seriousness, Mukhammed (he left the mechanization tekhnikum in Ashkhabad in the third course after absences from classes) went to the orchard adjacent to the unit without permission. However, he did not manage to feast on apricots. As soon as he found a tree with the ripest and firmest fruits deep in the orchard, four bearded men in striped robes with arms came out as though from the earth. It was not difficult for them to subdue one soldier.

Mukhammed anxiously looked at the ferocious faces of the strong men reeking of sweat, expecting from minute to minute an end. But they dragged him in silence along paths and crossings known only to them. For four long days, which seemed like months, they transferred the captive from group to group, transporting him to Pakistan...

The camp was surrounded by mountains. There Mukhammed met two Russian lads (the editorial department cannot mention their names, because their subsequent fate is unknown). Mukhammed spent half a year together with them, mainly in a dugout. They were fed so that they would not die of hunger.

Why did the rebels need them?

"At first they said that they kept us in order to exchange us for their people, who had been taken prisoners in Afghanistan," Mukhammed recalls the past, choosing his words slowly. "However, later on it became clear that they wanted to break us and use us against our own people. But we thought about our homeland and did not give up the idea of an escape..."

A digression is needed here. During the days when I was preparing this material the mailman brought LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. It contained an article entitled "No One Is Forgotten"—a sacred commandment startling in its cruel truth. Iona Andronov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's own correspondent, discussed the content of the pamphlet "Sovetskiye plenniki voyny v Afganistane" ["Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan"], which was among other "underground publications" at an exhibit in the reception hall of the New York organization "House of Freedom." The pamphlet's author mentions the cruelties in passing.

"Soviet prisoners are kept under terrible conditions. Without any medical aid they suffer from hepatitis, malaria, and numerous other diseases... In rebels' camps under the leadership of the Islamic fundamentalist

Khekmatiar Soviet prisoners are kept in 24-hour darkness inside underground holes..."

The same publication of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA reports that since 1984 a special emissary of the organization with the pretentious name of "House of Freedom" traveled four times to rebels' camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan in order to pick there, among the most worn out prisoners, those that could be used for anti-Soviet purposes. Only 24 out of 300 were found. According to the recruiter from the "House of Freedom," seven are now dead, that is, they were simply executed for their lack of cooperation with anti-Sovieters. As a result, only 16 lads were brought to the United States, Canada, and England. However, three ran away, secured the help of Soviet embassies, and returned home.

Mukhammed and his two new friends were driven to despair. They found a bayonet and made plans to murder their guards and to run away. Where to? No one really knew, but life in captivity became unbearable. Most likely, all the three of them, if they had carried out their intention, would have died in the unequal fight during the attempt to escape. However, the bayonet was discovered. The leader of the rebels himself threatened them with a pointed machine gun. The lads were beaten up and shackled. One day Mukhammed's friends were taken away and he never saw them again. To the question where they were, the [rebels] answered with the following gesture: They slipped a finger across their throats. Later Mukhammed heard that the lads were not killed, but transported to another country... Had he been Russian, he would have surely shared their lot...

To this day he carries his pain about those fellows, agonizing over their unknown fate and feeling guilty, because he alone managed to get out of captivity... Each of us should not remain calm, knowing that dozens of our lads languish in captivity today. [Their captors] try to persuade them to commit treason, applying all measures of influence, including drugs, as the American press testifies. As LITERATURNAYA GAZETA emphasizes, even "after the adoption of the joint Soviet-Afghan declaration in Tashkent and after the signing of the Geneva accords on the settlement in Afghanistan, whose guarantors the USSR and the United States are, the Soviet and American public should immediately raise its voice in defense of those, whom, as a result of the war and captivity, [some] would want to deprive of their homeland."

Mukhammed remained alone among strangers. The rebels, believing that he was no longer capable of anything, permitted him to move more or less freely in the camp. This relative freedom and lenient attitude, apparently, were also due to the fact that he had a Moslem name, which was sacred to the superstitious rebels. Mukhammed gradually began to speak in Farsi—after the lads had been taken away he heard no other language.

The rebels wanted to make him into an instructor. They had captured Soviet equipment. I would like to recall that before the army he studied at a mechanization tekhnikum. Days and months dragged on. No hopes of returning to the homeland remained. He had no friends ready to support and cheer him up next to him. Life lost its meaning...

Mukhammed made up his mind. He stole a grenade. He went with it a little farther, afraid that he would be prevented from executing his plan. He sat torn by doubts behind a restroom for about an hour. He remembered his home, parents, brothers, and sisters. "They were probably told that I was missing. And they, especially my mother, hope that I am alive. In fact, I am alive, but now I want to kill myself... How awful and absurd everything is... But what is such a life for? I can no longer go on like this..."

Mukhammed pulled the pin. It remained for him only to lower the grenade lever. Slowly, with force he lifted the ribbed death to his abdomen. Twisting his lips, very slowly he began to unclench his sweaty right palm... He thought that those were his last moments, but... an explosion did not follow. "Even death turned away from me?!" In despair Mukhammed tossed the grenade in front of him. It hit the earth and at that moment an explosion roared. The flash blinded the lad, fragments lashed at his legs and abdomen, and something obstructed his eyes. He fell down, bleeding. The rebels, hearing the noise, came running with arms dangling from their hands.

Frightened by what had happened, they put Mukhammed in a hospital. Their leader, who had been absent from the camp, arrived a few days later. "A true Moslem does not kill himself," he said with contempt. "We will not touch you, but will not treat you either. Let Allah decide your fate." Mukhammed was placed in a room, alone, without medical aid. The wounds on his legs began to become inflamed. He was doomed and he realized that.

But fate again took its own course. A "higher" leader came to the camp. He was given a report on Mukhammed. He looked at the languishing lad and said strictly: "If you work for us, we will save you. If not, you have only yourself to blame." This was his last chance.

Circumstances bent and broke him, but, as it became clear later, could not bend and break him completely. No longer a young boy in a soldier's uniform, who had not yet experienced difficulties and tempered his character, but a man, who deliberately went to death, was in front of them. He no longer was afraid to lose such a life and, therefore, decided to go till the end in his attempts to return to his people.

He again began to be treated and then was sent to Peshawar. There he was appointed an apprentice to the mullah so that he could learn the Koran and become a

true Moslem. Mukhammed was ordered to pose as an Afghan, whom he resembled—bearded, dark-faced, in a quilted striped robe, and speaking Farsi fairly well.

One day good fortune smiled at him. During a chance meeting with a driver from Islamabad Mukhammed found out that there was a Soviet embassy there. The unextinguished hope of returning [home] took on a concrete outline. Having heard that at the local market it was possible to rent a car to Islamabad, Mukhammed began to prepare himself.

On 1 January 1984 there was no one, except the cook, at the house. Mukhammed, saying that he was instructed to go to the market, went away, taking with him money stolen from the mullah. He came to the market in a taxi. He found a stand where drivers were waiting for clients, calling out the names of routes. Mukhammed chose a thin Toyota driver, figuring out that in case of failure he would be able to defend himself against him. He explained to him: "Don't stop for anyone on the road. I am in a hurry. I have a meeting in Islamabad with a person who is flying away today."

The fast car raced on the road, but it seemed to Mukhammed that it was going not sufficiently fast. He restrained himself with difficulty from the desire to look back often. The Toyota carried him forward, with every passing kilometer bringing him closer to the homeland, or to death—there could be no other outcome. This is confirmed by the burning lines from the mentioned pamphlet "Soviet War Prisoners in Afghanistan": "Twenty two out of them were killed in 1985 during desperate attempts to escape." How many such lads, who placed freedom above life, were there during all the years of war in Afghanistan?

Suddenly, there was Islamabad—a strange, unfamiliar city. Only there did Mukhammed say to the driver:

"I have to go to the Soviet Embassy."

"I will not go there."

"I will pay well."

"But I don't know where it is."

"We will ask passersby."

Another hour of circling through the city streets. But time worked against him. Mukhammed realized that, having noticed his absence, [the rebels] could also look for him in Islamabad. Finally, there was the embassy. An armed local guide did not let him in. But time was passing and such a near rescue began to seem unrealizable. Mukhammed tried to control himself and stubbornly waited at the gate—he had no other place to go... Suddenly, a brake squeak was heard and a man and a woman Russian in appearance came out from the car. Mukhammed rushed to them:

"Hello, Happy New Year, I have to talk to you!..."

"Hello, who are you?"

"I will tell you, only let us enter the embassy..."

And there:

"I am a Soviet soldier, my name is Mukhammed Yazkuliyeu. I escaped from captivity."

Mukhammed lived at the embassy for 1 month, got used to speaking Russian, and avidly read newspapers, in which previously he had not been particularly interested... Then he was sent to Moscow.

The airplane arrived in the morning and only when Mukhammed stepped on the concrete pavement of Sheremetyevo Airport did he finally believe that everything was behind him and that he was in his homeland! Life is unpredictable in its symbols: Precisely on that day, 29 January 1984, he was 22 years old. He really believes that on that day he was born for the second time...

Mukhammed did not stay long in Moscow. He was sent to Tashkent, where he had been called up. There he needed treatment in a hospital: Foreign bodies were found in his eyes—the consequences of the grenade explosion, which also left scars on his body. There was also a check—offensive but necessary. He was given a new military card and transferred to the reserve. On 28 March (the dates of return are firmly engraved on his memory) Mukhammed arrived by train at the Amu-Darya station, from where he rushed in a taxi to his native Khodzhabas. For 3 years minus 1 month he saw his homeland only in his dream. There, in captivity, after a rude shout, risking to be hit, he did not open his eyes right away, trying to prolong his vision a little bit longer... Suddenly, the porch of his own home...

He did not know that here, on his native land, he would dream about foreign Pakistan land. And he would scream because of the painful memories, awakening members of his family in the middle of the night, but in time he would let go of the past and would not tear his soul apart so...

And life, so peaceful and desired, would take its turn. Mukhammed began to work as a technician at the Khodzhabas Forestry Establishment. He likes to be close to land and to improve it. "A forestry technician is like an agronomist on a kolkhoz," this is how he explained his duties. He also studies by correspondence at the Ashkhabad Agricultural Institute to become an agronomist. Two years ago Mukhammed and Novbakhar celebrated their Komsomol wedding. They have known each other since childhood, studied at the same school, but their feelings awakened after Mukhammed's return.

Novbakhar Chilyeva, head of a sector of the Komsomol raykom, is now on maternity leave—she nurses her son. I was at the newlyweds' home and saw how respectfully they treated each other and how gentle Mukhammed was with the tiny Alym. On his desk Mukhammed has a color portrait of his wife. Among his textbooks and thick notebooks I saw Valeriy Kuplevakhskiy's book "Razvedchiki" [Reconnaissance Men]. The military writer from Moscow used to come to Khodzhambas and became interested in the unusual fate of the local lad. He left him his book with the following inscription as a keepsake: "With a gift of friendship to Mukhammed."

And another detail. Fellows from Khodzhambasskiy Rayon, who had served in Afghanistan, elected Mukhammed Yazkuliyeu chairman of the council of internationalist soldiers. Together with all of them he was recently presented with the medal "70th Anniversary of the USSR Armed Forces."

He is often asked to speak in schools. He sparingly talks about his past experiences, but at the end, turning to the young boys, he says with expression unchanged: "Anything can happen in life. And if it seems to you that all roads are closed, don't despair and look for a way out..." Mukhammed has the right to say such words despite his 27 years...

I flew away from Khodzhambas on a rattling An-2. Houses surrounded by greenery remained under the percale wings. Well-defined rectangles of fields divided by strips of sprinklers gave way to yellow-brownish sand. The Amu-Darya endlessly flowed on the side, along the airplanes route... I looked at this land sparing of color and not easy to live on, from which Mukhammed had been separated. And I thought about the fact that he placed his return to it above his own life...

Mukhammed Yazkuliyeu now works as an instructor at an agricultural vocational and technical school and teaches principles of agronomy and systems of agricultural machines. "It is more interesting for me to work with people," this is how he explains his switch to me... He and his wife Novbakhar await their second child. Mukhammed is now a student in the third course at TSKhI [Tashknet Agricultural Institute].

#### **New Long-Term Plan for Moscow's Development Considered**

18000881 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Apr 89 p 1

[Article by S. Kapustin: "Moscow in Twenty Years' Time"]

[Text] Our correspondent asked R. Gorbanev, director of Moscow Genplan's Scientific Research and Design Institute, to tell us about the new draft General Plan for the development of the capital and of Moscow Oblast between now and the year 2010:

"The previous general plan concentrated only on the capital. Now, for the first time, we are discussing Moscow and Moscow Oblast as a single economic entity. Furthermore, we are striving above all to solve social and ecological problems.

"We are suggesting a transition to a compact residential structure with a varied number of storeys, from two or three to 16. We consider it essential to incorporate into residential areas special-purpose buildings for socially vulnerable population groups, to made the move from standard industrial construction to individual construction.

"By 2010 there will be 22 square metres of living space per person in the capital and almost 26 square metres per person in the areas around Moscow. For comparison, I remind you that the norm stipulated in the RSFSR Residential code is 12 square metres. A large amount of space will again be made available for residential purposes after administrative establishments are moved out of the center. More than 33 million square metres is expected to be released by the reconstruction, about 25 million of which will be on land freed up by the demolition of buildings. It is intended to pay particular attention to improving the planning and architecture of houses, apartments, and residential complexes, to their amenities.

"The general plan envisages completion of a network of radial and circular subway lines and the creation of a system of new branch express subway lines primarily following the directions of the capital's development. The total length of the subway network is to grow to 479 kilometres by 2010. There are also plans for the construction of 50 kilometres of track for a fundamentally new form of electromagnetically suspended transport.

"The development of passenger ground transport in Moscow will be achieved by the active use of electrified transport and high-capacity rolling stock. To relieve traffic congestion in the center, plans are afoot for the creation of a system of major terminuses and long-term parking areas for passenger cars is in the planning stage.

"It is intended to free the center of Moscow, which has taken shape over the course of history, from extraneous functions, to remove from it four thousand offices, departments, minor organizations, warehouses, installations, and enterprises. Residential apartments must be brought back, hotels must be built, special recreational centers must be created.

"It has been suggested that the entire central area of Moscow, everything within the former Kamer-Kollezhskiy ramparts, be accorded the status of a monument of urban development, that lost elements of construction be restored, with a return to the historical planning of buildings and facilities. These same principles have been adopted for the inclusive reconstruction of the ancient towns in Moscow Oblast."

**Poor Russian Knowledge Linked To Nationalism  
In Army**

*18310022a Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 21 Jan 89 p 4*

[Article by G. Aliyev: "Father, Come Quickly..."]

[Text] It is now possible to write openly about the service and conduct of youth in the ranks of the Soviet Army and about negative situations, and to explain measures taken to the wider public. I feel obligated to describe to readers shortcomings which I, as a political-military worker, have seen in this sector. I believe that this will be to the good.

In July of last year they brought Atabay Ruzmetov, who is from Kharezm Oblast in the Uzbek SSR, to our central military hospital. He had received a severe bodily injury and had lost half his vision. Arif Rzayev, who is from our republic, had injured him. After an investigation it became clear that A. Rzayev had avoided going to supper with the company but also did not wish to go hungry. He went to Ruzmetov who was doing night guard duty at the field storeroom and asked him for food. Since the storeroom had been locked up, the guard paid no attention to him. Arif became angry and attacked Ruzmetov. Then Arif's parents came and asked the military procurator for mercy. But it was too late. I have to say that Ruzmetov is the only son in the family and is still being treated in the hospital. Although it was only the 'heroism' of our fellow countrymen, it was not permitted to write about it.

Under the conditions of democracy and glasnost much has been written and said about a question which was formerly out of bounds or kept secret—the behavior of those serving in the army, especially the relations of various nationalities and peoples to each other. Unfortunately, the names of youths from our republic are not mentioned often in the ranks of the good ones. In general, I want to dwell on the education of Azeri youths in the family and school and their preparation for military service. Experience shows that there are many flaws in our work conducted in this sector. As a consequence, many youths prefer enterprise work in military service over everything. There are not few who, with various excuses, even avoid morning physical training.

The greatest shortcoming among our youth is their poor knowledge or complete lack of knowledge of Russian, which is the channel of communication between representatives of various nationalities. Sometimes they try to explain this by means of the life style, national customs and traditions of the people. The worst is there are those who dress up such actions in the garb of nationalism, and there are those who cast blame on our entire people for these. I would remind them that the people also include Rahib Mammadov, A. Guliyev, who is chief of the military central hospital, Sergeant-Major Yashar Budagov, commander of military transport, and Master Sergeant Aziz Hilayev, a deputy platoon commander.

Everyone knows and loves them, from ordinary soldiers to generals in the army organization, and uses them as examples for others.

Today, very difficult and complicated duties stand before commanders of the Soviet Armed Forces, such as raising discipline to the level of today's demands, eliminating all negative situations, and making the service environment healthy. In connection with this, we are inviting parents and representatives of party, soviet and komsomol organizations, the military commissariat, and certain republics and oblasts to military units and holding an open dialogue. In the final analysis, the training of the modern soldier is not only the job of we soldiers but also the business of the whole society. An important part of the education of the new generation falls to the army. But parents sending off their sons to military service should not think that they are transferring responsibility for their training to others. The roots of most negative situations in the army begin in the secondary and higher schools, in common dormitories, in evening meetings in various localities, in the fact that some parents have pampered and catered to their children to an extreme extent, in the principle of 'feed me, make my bed'. Let me note one statistical fact: every one of the Azeri youth serving in our unit receives an average of 55 rubles a month from home. And the ones who ask for medical help the most are Azeri youths.

The state guarantees those in military service food, clothing and the appropriate living conditions. Parents should know that it is the boys with the most money who go absent without leave from this unit, who start drinking or even commit crimes.

The training of soldiers is a very difficult question, and the judgment and help of parents who expect us to return their sons to them healthy is very important. It would be best if those sending their sons into the army put intelligence in their heads instead of money in their pockets, and if they would be more concerned with their sons' physical readiness and Russian knowledge than in putting gifts at their commanders' doors. Although it is a bitter thing to say, I must say it openly: under various pretexts, commanders of other nationalities sometimes refuse to accept Azeri youths into their units.

I do not know to what extent my concern and anxiety for the fate of our youths makes an impression, but I wish to say one thing openly: the times have changed. The time when some officers would conceal negative events in the interests of their rank and privileges, when they would not inform higher military organs about this in order not to be punished has passed. Now everything is stated openly, and information is even given to the Ministry of Defense. The number of those found criminally responsible in the army has not dropped, and there is much concern because the percentage of Azeri youths among these is not small.



With this letter I wish to convey to parents the wish of the command of our military organization: in order to return your sons safe and sound from the army we need your help and your letters of counsel. The help of every person in our republic who respects our youth and thinks about their future is needed. We know our common work. If we all work together, 'father, come quickly' telegrams from a military unit will not be sent.

### **Role of Azerbaijan Culture House in Moscow Discussed**

*18310022b Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri  
8 Jan 89 pp 1, 4*

[Azerinform: "The Azerbaijan House in Moscow: What Should The Republic Culture Center In The Capital Be?"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR culture center which is being established in the capital should acquaint Muscovites and guests in the capital with the life and achievements of the Azerbaijan SSR, its history and culture, and the internationalist traditions of the people. The Moscow gorispolkom, at the request of the republic's leadership, set aside the house at 10 Bolshaya Sadovaya on Mayakovskiy Square for a culture center. How should one evaluate the concept of establishing a culture center, and what should such a center be? What kind of role will it play in the social and cultural life of Moscow and our republic? At the request of an Azerinform correspondent, cultural figures and scientists gave their opinions about this.

Eldar Guliyev, film director and peoples artist of the Azerbaijan SSR: First, I want to express my deep gratitude to the Azerbaijan CP CC for such an important and timely effort and for its consequentiality in implementing this effort. I also wish to thank the Moscow gorispolkom from the bottom of my heart. It approached our republic's request positively and resolved it in an expeditious manner; it allocated a building for the center in one of the central rayons of the city and located it in a house the history of which is connected with the names of a number of prominent figures in Soviet literature and arts.

The need for creating such a hearth of culture in Moscow arises from the deep democratic changes which are occurring in the life of a socialist society. Thanks to this, the further development of the Leninist nationality policy of the CPSU and the strengthening of friendship and brotherhood among the peoples of our country have emerged as a primary responsibility.

What should the culture center of the Azerbaijan SSR be? Primarily, it should be turned into a piece of Azerbaijan: here, everyone should feel the sincerity, friendliness and the most beautiful human qualities of our conationals.

The culture of Azerbaijan has made tremendous successes. But, to speak frankly, we still have much to do in representing its traditions and present achievements in a

worthy manner and in communicating these achievements outside the borders of our native republic. The house on Bolshaya Sadovaya street must be turned into a center for communicating our mentality and the cultural development of the people. This is the strategic objective of a great purpose. In order to achieve this purpose we must conduct consequential and wellplanned work, and think of the future. We must make this effort in the name of Azerbaijan's culture, not to merely say that 'measures have been taken'. Another issue: the culture center is a new kind of work. We are obligated to use new forms and new principles in the organization of the center so that an excellent idea is not lost through old relationships.

As a cinematographer I am thinking about how a cinema could be used in the center. It would be possible to show films there for the first time, hold meetings with film experts and have creative discussions. By means of specially made films and videotapes we could start interesting and emotional talks about our republic and prominent figures in the arts and sciences.

Agshin Alizade, composer and peoples artist of the Azerbaijan SSR: I met the news that the achievements of Azerbaijan's culture would be communicated on a wide scale in Moscow with feelings of joy and excitement. This is a holiday for each of us. I want our cultural center to have a genuine and authoritative representative of Azerbaijan's music in the capital and that our country's music lovers and foreign guests become acquainted with Azeri music here. This will make it possible to strengthen ties with our Moscow colleagues and with representatives of the multinational Soviet musical culture.

I cannot imagine a culture center without a music salon. One could listen to chamber music collectives and ensembles and certain performers in this salon. Then we would not be dependent on concert organizations, and it would be possible to organize regular appearances of music masters. One could also resolve a number of important problems under friendly conditions while drinking tea while listening to music in the next room.

Elbay Rzaguliyev, peoples artist of Azerbaijan: I am sure that before talking of the creative life of the culture center it would be worth while to give some thought to its architectural beauty. I would consider it to be completely correct to announce a contest for rebuilding the structure and its design. In my opinion, we have to consider the national art traditions of the people during its designing. We would turn the building's interior into a kind of permanent art exhibit and create a pleasant atmosphere. We would want a permanent display area for the best works of painters, the organization of various exhibits and the showing of the works of artists from various generations of Azeri artists. Without doubt, decorative and applied art works would adorn the culture center. Talented artists would be creating works in front of our eyes, and it would be possible to buy these works at stands.

Omar Omarov, architect: I am quite sure that various ideas and proposals will be put forth during a competition for the best architecture and design. These will probably be completely different from each other. Good.

As an architect, I have been engaged in the rebuilding of existing buildings with with planning the interiors of various types of buildings. One thing is clear: the culture center must be turned into a corner of Azerbaijan, a piece of the rich, varied civilization of the Azeri people extending into the distant past and touching on the future. I would say that from the point of view of architectural composition and artistic design a generalized image of the Azerbaijan house must be created. The success of the culture center is very dependent on the degree of success of this image. The most important is that the minute anyone enters this house, he must feel the national coloration of our republic. One must definitely not permit the culture center to turn into a museum or a dry, lifeless series of displays. It must work as a living display of rich spiritual life.

San'an Alizade, Dr of Geological-Mineralogical Sciences: The culture center can turn into the meeting place for many Azeri cultural figures and scientists who live in Moscow. This will make it possible to use their spiritual potential in communicating Soviet Azeri achievements and strengthening the ties between them and our native republic. It is important that the Azerbaijan house in Moscow turn into a place for meeting and communication between our republic's representatives and their colleagues and artist friends from other republics. I wish to note another issue: each of us, undoubtedly, wishes to present to the culture center examples of Azerbaijan's fine arts, national objects used in life and works of art done by artists of old.

#### Letters From Abroad Highlight 'Fatherland' Society Activities

18310022c Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri 20 Jan 89 p 8

[Article by Rahbar Bashirli: "Unique Letters"]

[Text] Recently the 'Vatan' [Fatherland] Society, which is marking its first anniversary received a pleasing letter from the USA. In the letter it says that a cultural center for Azeris living in America—a 'Vatan' Society—was formed. Azeris from various states in America, representatives of cultural institutions and workers from official circles participated in the organizational meeting. A number of American press organs reported on the foundation of the 'Vatan' Society.

Holding concerts and other mass cultural measures with the objective of communicating Azerbaijan's culture and fine arts will occupy the basic place in the future activities of this center. Rufa Azizova-Odyurdlu was elected chairman of the 'Vatan' Society and Zuleykha Asadulayeva-Weber responsible secretary.

While this article has begun with good news, I want to continue with a heartbreaking fact; it is the worst of news on the Southern subject. 'A girl in Ardebil in Southern Azerbaijan was arrested while listening to the singer Gadir Rustemov's performance of the song 'Sona Bulbulla', and accused of 'listening to Bolshevik radio'; she was stoned and killed'.

Hearing this news and later reading it I heard Gadir Rustemov's vibrato from the depths of his voice and lines:

May your rose turn to mint...

It struck me that Gadir Rustemov was singing 'Sona Bulbulla' on the radio for all the wonderful things scattered throughout the world like seeds of hope, even on the other bank of the Araz, even far away from that bank of the Araz.

Now let us become acquainted with letters from compatriots who have recently joined the 'Vatan' Society. We leaf through the book of fate of one who has spent 47 of his 65 years in exile:

'The foundation of the 'Vatan' Society pleases us and gives us hope. An exile lives with hope and desire. Although we are far from the fatherland, we live with longing for it. We take pleasure in the successes of the fatherland. But some events disturb us, make us sad and give pause to thought.

Recently foreign journals, newspapers and television have been giving news, preparing programs and showing films about Azerbaijan. Often they give information which runs counter to the truth. This situation disturbs both me and other Azeris.

Send me books about Azerbaijan's history and literature, two or three copies of each. How dear fraternal words are to a person. Please give no thought to the mistakes in my writing. What can you expect from someone who has been away from the Fatherland for 47 years?! I express my respect and admiration for you. Gadir Suleyman, France.'

Pages from the book of fate of another exile, but this exile is still young, and spends his years in a foreign land:

'I am from Southern Azerbaijan. I escaped to Norway from the hands of reaction. Now I live here. But this is not living. Living far from one's parents, from a beautiful fatherland is not a life.

I have three wishes in the world. To see my parents once, to see my native village, and to see the unity of the two Azerbaijanians. That would make my heart glad.

I am studying in the meteorological faculty in Norway. In my free time I listen to Azeri music and read. I am 27 years old. I have one request from your newspaper. Write

more about the present situation in Southern Azerbaijan so that Azeris living abroad can understand present conditions in our Fatherland. Vahid Hersiyevazi, Norway.'

This is another delight of one in another land; slight though it is, it is still a delight, one which dispenses longing:

'Dear friends, I write these greetings from the Turkmen Steppe of Iran. Here we always listen to Baku radio and watch its television. We get a lot of news from it. Occasionally we wait for books, magazines and records from you. Hajymurad, Turkmen Steppe.'

Another of our foreign brothers also looks to this side of the Araz, to us, for hope. He is waiting for an end to anxiety:

'Greetings to workers at the 'Vatan' Society! I heard your address on Radio Baku broadcasts and decided to write this letter.

If possible, could you send me information on studying at Baku University. I am 22 years old and a secondary school graduate. After my father died I was compelled to support our family. At the same time I am taking courses in the field of the treatment of psychoneural diseases. I have another request: would you permit me to work while I was studying there? Ilyas Keshvari, Anzali.'

In most of the letters on the Southern question the two banks of the Araz are recalled.

'Dear friends! Accept my heartfelt greetings. One can write and talk about everything - about the Fatherland. Man's situation is changing. I received the ODLAR YURDU which you sent me. It was as if the wind of the Caspian blew over me. I knew with every line I read that I stood on the shore of the Araz. One question bothers me, that as a Turk I cannot see my native Fatherland, my Azerbaijan, up close.

I wish you all pleasant days. Habib, Munich, FRG.'

And here is the voice of our old acquaintance Kamil. He finds it soothing to propagandize his roots in a distant country, to communicate them to all and spread them:

'I received AYDYNLYG, the newspaper published by the Azeris who live in London. I will try to keep a set of them. I wanted my comrades to translate some parts of the 'Koroghlu' epic into Norwegian. I hope that even more Azeri works will be translated into Norwegian in the future. Rovshen has an interesting and likable personality. In my opinion, he embodies the strength of the hopes and aspirations of a powerful people. As for the folk epic 'Koroghlu' the strength of its truth is very clear. Koroghlu is a basic people's hero worthy of song.

In conclusion, I wish you great successes on your road. Thank you. Sh. Kamil, Oslo, Norway.'

These wonderful letters, written in various alphabets in various kinds of handwriting, are continuing.

#### **Reasons Behind AzSSR MVD Purge Explained** *18310023a*

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 7 February 1989 carries on page 3 a 2,600 word article by Rusvat Bayramov headlined "A Puzzling Murder, or What Was the Reason Behind the Killing of the AzSSR Minister of Internal Affairs and Other Responsible Workers in the Ministry?" The article starts with a discussion of the murder in June 1978 of Lieutenant General Arif Heydarov, then AzSSR Minister of Internal Affairs, his deputy S. Kazymov and Lieutenant Colonel A. Safikhanov by a disgruntled MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] officer whose request for transfer had been repeatedly turned down. The killer then shot himself. The investigation, conducted by the KGB, concluded that the MVD had fallen under the control of a "tribal mafia" united through nepotism and favoritism. By tracing the inter-relationships of numerous leading MVD officials, the author reaches the conclusion that "as in other sectors, nepotism and localism were often the decisive factors in the selection and placement of cadres in the militia." He adds that "the situation did not change even after this event" and points out that "the deputy minister for cadre questions was changed often, but this still yielded no positive result. In most cases they appointed those close to them to leading positions. True, some of them were later removed from their positions—the intense actions of the past few months have demonstrated that they were unworthy of the posts they held, but there are still more than a few 'students' in the ranks who have learned from this 'shameful guard.' The ministry's leadership must pay special attention to cadre questions, and the militia must conduct intensive work to purge the unworthy officials. The first steps are being taken. Last year alone more than 22 militia workers were expelled from the system for unbecoming conduct." Adding that this purge has spread to other sectors within the MVD, he adds that it is still "too little."

#### **Rebuilding of Azerbaijan's History Urged** *18310023b*

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 7 February 1989 carries on pages 1 and 3 a 2,600 word article by Yagub Mahmudov, dean of the History Faculty at the S. M. Kirov Azerbaijan State University, headlined "Historian Cadres: Situation and Prospects." Stating that "it is no secret that during the period of the cult of personality and its severe consequences, as well as during the time of stagnation which was no better, historical science lost its educational role," he claims that "the rebuilding of historical science in the republic is connected with major difficulties." Primary among

these are that "beginning from the most ancient times up to and including the Soviet period a number of basic problems in Azeri history, including the question of the origin of our people, have still not been examined scientifically." In addition, "a number of our historical problems which were falsified through Stalin's dictate, some superficial 'chronicles' written with the goal of currying favor with 'higher ups' or at their command, and even those works aimed at proving that 'Azerbaijan is making major strides forward' during the years of stagnation and, along with these, the eulogies directed at covering up the 'policies' of those involved in bringing down spiritual and physical disaster on our people must be thrown out and the history of these periods rewritten."

Mahmudov enumerates a number of obstacles to this process: first, "for many years the necessary concern for teaching Azerbaijan's history in the university, and the republic in general, has not been shown;" one consequence of this is that "the great majority of research was directed at eternalizing the 'incomparable successes of the 1970s and 1980s and idealizing the instigators of this 'leap forward'." Second, "one of the most serious crimes committed under Stalinism and by Stalin's henchmen against the Azeri people (and other Eastern peoples of the USSR) was changing the alphabet twice within a short period of time"; thus, after the 1950s it became necessary to teach the young historians—the researchers of the future—the old alphabet. "But neither the Arabic nor the Latin alphabets were taught and "a large generation of our intellectuals is unable to read newspapers, journals, scientific and artistic literature which discuss our people's past." Other obstacles include the lack of proficiency in Western European and Near Eastern languages. The end result is that Azeri historians have remained "provincial."

#### **Difficulties Of Iranian Azeri Journal Highlighted** 18310023c

[Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI in Azeri on 8 February 1989 carries on page 4 a 1,700 word article by Mirabbas Aslanov in the series "Voices from the South" marking the tenth anniversary of the Iranian Azeri social and literary journal VARLYG, which is described as a "unique event in the social and cultural life of Southern Azerbaijan, in its literary and press history." It is the only Azeri language journal published in Iran, the others having been closed "for financial reasons" or due to the "powerful opposition of dark forces." Pointing out that in its ten years of existence VARLYG has published mainly on "history, literature, science, and social and national questions," he says that "without doubt, among the problems it has attempted to encompass and articles it has included two basic questions are closely related to each other: the origin and existence of the people, and the struggle for the native language!" VARLYG now faces two problems: the first is that "it is also compelled to publish in Persian;" Aslanov opines that "VARLYG could reduce the number of Persian articles, but if it did not include certain articles

they would unquestionably stop publication of the journal." The second problem is that the publisher is running out of money with which to publish the journal.

#### **Special Commission For Azeri Language Proposed** 18310023d

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYAT VE INDJESENET in Azeri on 10 February 1989 carries on pages 1 and 2 a 2,200 word round table discussion among ranking Azeri philologists on the theme "The Mother Tongue: Problems, Observations" in which measures were suggested to "broaden the social-cultural spheres of the Azeri language" and to restore Azeri to its legal status as state language. One speaker, referring to the manner in which Peter the Great started the official development, noted that "state concern for the mother tongue is always necessary because language is the fundamental manifestation of national culture." Azeri's decline in prestige is traced to Stalin's time, during which this decline began which continued through the "period of stagnation which, in this context, was the spiritual heir to the cult of personality." The discussants concluded that "there is a great need to establish a center—a commission to be called 'The Azeri Language in State Administration' which would exert control over the official use of the language. Stressing the link between national language and ecology questions, one discussant stated that "after speeches by the Kazakh writer A. Nurpeisov, the Lithuanian writer V. Petkyaichus, the Uzbek writer Mahammad Saleh and the Estonian writer V. Beskman at the January plenum devoted to ecology in Moscow, I personally understood that the time for action has come. Revolutionary perestroika has begun."

#### **Replacing Ancient Azeri Bridges With Dam Discussed** 18310023e

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYAT VE INDJESENET in Azeri on 24 February 1989 carries on page 5 a 2,900 word roundtable discussion among architects, historians and representatives of the Baku Hydrological Planning Administration on the question of moving the two ancient Khudaferin bridges which span the Araz River (part of the border between the USSR and Iran) to make way for a dam and water junction which will provide irrigation to lands on both sides of the border. The Araz River Hydrological and Dam Project was planned in 1981 following a joint agreement on the matter between the USSR and Iran. The two Khudaferin bridges, built before and during the early medieval period, are considered to be national treasures. One discussant commented that "to move or change the bridge means to depatriotize it!" Another remarked that "one cannot touch the Khudaferin Bridge. Were we to move them, we would lose our history. The bridge's name has awakened a patriotic feeling among the people" and added that "these monuments preserve us; they are our language, our existence." Z. Baghyrov, director of the Baku Hydrological Planning Administration, defending the project

in general if not its current location, claimed that if the location of the planned dam were to change, the cost would increase by "some four or five million dollars." It was generally concluded that "the people will have the last word on this." Neither the USSR nor Iran has started any actual clearing or construction work on the project.

### **Islam, Tribalism Blamed For Divorce, Suicide in Turkmen SSR**

18350014a

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 4 February 1989 carries on page 4 a 1,500 word article by M. Annanurov, scientific worker in the Philosophy and Law Department of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences, headlined "The Family Hearth is Sacred: May Harmful Remnants of the Past Not Wreck It" in which he blames much divorce and female suicide on the shariat and tribalism. He points out that "the norms of the Muslim shariat with regard to women trace their roots back to patriarchal-tribal, bay-feudal organization. Under the laws of the Koran and norms of the shariat, extremely cruel traditions have been applied to the place of women in the society and family." Claiming that the rights of the male of the family are "unlimited", he suggests that where such "reactionary norms" of conduct are permitted, women, unable to find a way out, "often resort to suicide." A number of recent suicides the causes of which are traceable to this type of causes are noted, including one in which the man with whom a woman was in love was from the wrong tribe. The woman committed suicide. He stresses that divorce under Islamic law is extremely easy for men to initiate but almost impossible for women and criticizes court practises in the Turkmen SSR for "not paying enough attention to preventing the abasement of women."

### **Turkmen's Loss Of Prestige Traced to Late 1930s**

18350014b

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 9 February 1989 carries on page 3 a 2,500 word article by Academician Pygam Azymov headlined "We Must Strengthen Attention to the Turkmen Language" in which he traces the general loss of interest in learning Turkmen back to the late 1930s and early 1940s at which time "enthusiasm for and interest in studying Turkmen began to weaken." One consequence of this is that "the Turkmen knowledge of the urban Turkmen intelligentsia between the ages of 30 and 40 and their children is extremely low." He adds that Turkmen is rarely used as a working language in ministries and leading organizations, and is misused in the media. Academic publishing activity in Turkmen is described as "slight." He claims that "the decline of the role of Turkmen and the neglect of its authoritative position are, in my opinion, consequences of the narrowing of the scope of Turkmen usage in life and the fact that it is little used in practical matters. At fault in this, primarily, are we linguists, the Turkmen intelligentsia

itself, and party and Soviet workers." He suggests a number of measures designed to bring Turkmen back into wide public use, and notes the success of such measures in Kazakhstan, where G. V. Kolbin, first secretary of the CC KazCP, "said in one of his speeches on central television that he was going to study Kazakh over the next six months."

### **Readers Propose Ways To Revive Turkmen**

18350014c

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 23 February 1989 carries on page 4 two letters from readers (1,700 words) supporting the position of Academician Azymov as expressed in his article "We Must Strengthen Attention to the Turkmen Language" (SOVET TURKMENISTANY 9 February 1989). The author Ashyr Nazarov, pointing out that "most meetings and gatherings are not held in Turkmen and not even Turkmen feasts in the city are held in Turkmen," stresses the need to "create appropriate conditions for those who are working in Turkmenistan but do not know Turkmen to learn the language." B. Saryyev, chairman of the Young Scholars Council at the Magtymguly Institute of Language and Literature, complains that "local youths living in the city are viewing the study of Turkmen with indifference." He proposes that Turkmen language requirements at all places of higher learning be instituted on the basis of a "specially prepared program"; he also asserts that "if entrance and graduation examinations in Turkmen were to be introduced, no one would look on the study of Turkmen with indifference."

### **Economic Autonomy At Rayon Level To Serve Local Needs**

18200275 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian  
22 Feb 89 p 3

[A. Balitskaya interviews Lyublin raykom first secretary V. Ivanov: "The Rayon Opens Its Books"; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] At the city party conference, we had no difficulty hearing the voices that discussed implementing rayon-level khozraschet. The Lyublin representatives of the CPSU rayon organization were well prepared for the discussion, and had a detailed program with them when they arrived. It is this program that will be the topic of our discussion today with raykom first secretary V. Ivanov.

I would like to add that Vladimir Leonidovich Ivanov is one of the youngest first secretaries of the CPSU raykom, both in terms of his age (he is 42) and the time he has held the job (six months). He has never done "only" party work. He started as a master at the AZLK [Lenin Komsomol Automobile Plant], which he left after becoming the plant assistant deputy director and chairman of the Lyublin rayispolkom.

Khozaschet and self-financing are matters of special concern for the Lyublin raykom. And even though Ivanov is serious when he says the main job of the raykom is to stay out of the way of enterprises, raykom help (in the form of comparative analysis, sharing experience, and "round tables," etc.) is absolutely essential to their success. First Secretary Ivanov has had this attitude since he headed the Kineshemskiy Avtoagregat Plant, which is part of the Moskvich Association. And he has not forgotten the times when the gorkom called him on the carpet, or when headstrong solutions to economic problems were employed. All his life he has been hard on himself, an attitude which would have kept him from accepting the job of first secretary just a few years ago: he would have stood out too much. But now circumstances alone have combined to put him in his current post.

[Balitskaya]: Vladimir Leonidovich, I would like to start by asking your opinion of what the main objective—or if you prefer, orientation—of rayon-level khozaschet is.

[Ivanov]: Khozaschet will permit us to make the rayon's socio-economic advancement directly dependent on the economic performance of workers. That is, the better workers do their job, the richer the rayon will be. When we have large amounts of money under our immediate control, we will be able to spend it in ways that are more beneficial to the people than the current centrally planned system can. The reason for this is that central planners cannot always see what is needed or important below them on the rayon level. I strongly believe the optimum formulation of plans and disposition of a budget are possible only at a local level. It is time for us to reject the former system which required better-off enterprises to sponsor and "support" schools, kindergartens, and like organizations (even though there is already a law prohibiting such sponsorship). Once the rayon sets its own priorities, it can and should free these organizations from the vagaries of fortune. They should not have to worry about finding a sponsor with a fat purse.

[Balitskaya]: But what if we look at this issue from the point of view of the sponsors; that is, the enterprises themselves. Right now, they give money (money earned by them) directly to schools, for example, while the plan is for them to continue providing the schools with money, but through taxes paid to the rayon, which will then allocate funds from its budget. How does this benefit the enterprises, and what incentive do they have to be involved in it?

[Ivanov]: What we have done is propose—and this has been set down in party conference resolutions—that 30 percent of the excess profit be left in the rayon. Under current regulations, this money is given to organizations at the soyuz, ministerial, and other levels. In other words, the rayon ends up getting peanuts, somewhere around a tenth of a percent. And it makes no difference whether an enterprise is doing a great job or a lousy one. For example, last year the AZLK cut its output of cars. So because they were in the process of installing new

equipment, they were granted an exception and freed from all taxes. But this is not the main issue. The question is how this affected the financial posture of the rayon. The answer is that it did not. And I want to stress that the effect was negligible despite a sharp drop in output. As a rule, the AZLK puts about eight million rubles in excess profit into the rayon. About four million comes from the petroleum plant. For the rayon as a whole, a figure of about 20 million rubles is realistic.

Khozaschet organizations (and there were about 20 of these operating under the new management system in 1988) have a productivity growth rate that is 8.5 percent higher than the average for the rayon. Thanks to khozaschet, organizations like GosNIIkhlorproyekt [State Research Institute For Chlorine] sales under contract grew by a factor of 11, from 800,000 to nine million rubles. So we can count on their excess profit level continuing to grow steadily. And if 30 percent of that remains in the rayon, we will be able to alleviate problems in providing many social and community services. And there is one more thing. We can have enterprises leave some (also about 30 percent) of what they produce over their quotas in the rayon, regardless of the department [vedomstvo] they belong to. I am referring to both consumer and other goods. These are our plans for the rayon. As you are aware, there is still no official "methodology."

[Balitskaya]: Vladimir Leonidovich, you still have not answered my question about how enterprises will benefit from rayon-level khozaschet. But based on what you have just told me, I would formulate the question a little differently. Any excess profit is going to be taken in taxes anyway, so there is no reason people would feel any vested interest in it in the first place.

[Ivanov]: I disagree. Currently, the rayon has 60 or 65 percent of the clinics it should have, and in 1995 will have 70 percent of the required number. And while we have 92-95 percent of the educational facilities we need, certain neighborhoods are experiencing a serious shortage in this area. For example, children in Marina attend school in three shifts. The city is building "relentlessly," looking for every possible site on which to put housing and thus compounding the already difficult situation with schools. The gorplan [city planning agency] determines—in conjunction, of course, with the appropriate higher authorities—how the rayon's public education system will be developed. There is a different organization that deals with health care, while the public services and road maintenance agency operates in accordance with its own considerations. And we never see the money allocated to us; it goes to these organizations. If we were financially independent, we could concentrate our resources on a single problem; for example, we could take care of public education in short order. At the same time, we would incorporate all projects into the assignments of repair and construction trusts and construction agencies.

When I cite public education as an example, I do not mean it as some kind of abstract example. Education is

one of the three priorities in our rayon. The other two are health care and trade. There is no way enterprises can remain apathetic about these matters. After all, the people they employ not only work here, they (or many of them, in any case) also live here. And even if they are registered as residents of different places, they still shop here when they get off work or on weekends. The things they need are here or nearby, so they have an interest in the growth and improvement of trade in the rayon.

Centralized construction and allocation of housing make sense and would not change under rayon-level khozraschet. However, the rayon would have a solid budget, and would thus be able to contract for construction on its own. For example, suppose we needed a clinic in a city that could not afford to build one. We would "rifle the contents" of our excess profit fund and allocate whatever money was needed over the amount the gorplan was able to provide. Jointly we would seek out opportunities and resources. We would sell excess inventory and slow-moving items faster and avoid ordering and paying for more than we could sell. In short, we would do everything in our power to maximize excess profit. An effort in this direction is already underway, since it is needed anyway, and since we are well aware that it is a government matter and that we are therefore responsible for it. But under khozraschet, both the ispolkom and the raykom have to become involved in solving the problem, if I may put it in this way. This is a factor, and a rather major one.

[Balitskaya]: You keep mentioning excess profit. Are all the rayon's enterprises strong enough to produce excess profit?

[Ivanov]: Not all of them. Unfortunately, we also have enterprises whose losses are part of their Plan. As you can well imagine, the CPSU raykom is looking very closely at getting rid of these. But the sad part is that not everything depends on these enterprises, or on us either. Let me bring in Mosmekhtsemelevator as a typical example. The mark-up on a ton of cement is 60 kopeks, a rate that was set in 1956 and has not changed since. Yet at similar enterprises in the industry, this figure varies, fluctuating between two and three rubles. The Goskomtsen [State Price Committee] refuses to review the issue of setting a socially just mark-up without the agreement of the Mosstroykomitet [Moscow Construction Committee], while the latter, which is, to put it bluntly, guided purely by its own interests, does not support Mosmekhtsemelevator's request.

[Balitskaya]: Another question. As I understand it, you have already asked the MGK [Moscow City Committee] of the CPSU and the Mossovet ispolkom to give the rayon khozraschet status (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA wrote about a similar request made by Sevastopol Rayon) and defended your request. Without waiting for a decision, have you already embarked on any course of action within the framework of the rights you currently possess?

[Ivanov]: We were the first to create a rayon-wide interbranch industrial and technical agency within the city. This agency acts as an intermediary providing the raysovet with its revenues. To help with the conversion to rayon-level khozraschet, we have changed the structure of the ispolkom. We created a socio-economic development department whose job will be coordinating all industrial activity. We also want to introduce a new position: a deputy chairman (that is, a second first deputy chairman) for economics. It looks simple enough. We are not asking for anything and plan to use our own money from our own wage fund to pay for the position. But the Mosgorispolkom is dragging out its decision.

We are intensifying the rayon Plan and selecting the personnel to help with the task. But the most important thing is the rayon-wide interbranch industrial and technical agency I mentioned earlier. The rayon soviet has already opened an account into which excess profit monies from an enterprise have been placed. In addition, this account receives a set percentage of the profit from cooperatives' business activity, as well as the rent they pay.

We recently held a passenger car auction. Your paper wrote about it in considerable detail. That auction raised the balance in the rayon's bank account by 70,000 rubles.

[Balitskaya]: You called it "our" account. To a certain extent, that is symbolic. It reminds me of all those standardized formulas like: "We must live within our means," "We must utilize precise economic criteria," and "No more approximations, levelling, or semi-abstract statistics." The idea behind them is to put people's enthusiasm on solid material ground. So do you plan to stop writing off your industrial "sins" and instead reflect their real magnitude in your accounting records?

[Ivanov]: Yes. And most importantly, we will be able to implement our specific plans for the rayon's socio-economic development in 1990, this year, tomorrow, and even today, and not at some undefined date in the future. We desperately need khozraschet in order to do so.

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